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THE PRESIDENT IN HIS OFFICE

From early morning to midnight President Roosevelt gives his time to his country's business, and lends all the vigor of his intellect and physical energies to meeting the great responsibilities thurst upon him.

To J. Martin Miller Esq
from
Theodore Roosevelt

The Triumphant Life
OF
Theodore Roosevelt

Citizen *Statesman* *President*

The Inspiring Narrative of His Wonderful Career Related by

HON. SHELBY M. CULLOM,

HON. WILLIAM LOEB, HON. GEORGE C. PERKINS,

and Other Distinguished Authorities.

Embracing a Complete Account of the Republican National Convention of 1904, Its Proceedings, Platform and the Speeches of Speaker Cannon, Senator Beveridge, Ex-Governor Black, Secretary Root, and Others,

together with the

Life Story of Hon. Charles W. Fairbanks,
Nominee for Vice-President.

LAVISHLY ILLUSTRATED

With Hitherto Unpublished Portraits of President Roosevelt and his family, including Many Instantaneous Photographs of Startling Scenes in the Life of the Chief Executive.

Edited by J. MARTIN MILLER
The Celebrated Historian and Biographer

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INTRODUCTION

President Roosevelt has never been a favorite of the politicians. For the sake of their political existence, however, the professional politicians have been obliged to support him because of his great popularity with the people. The President has gone along his way, doing what he thought to be the right thing at all times, regardless of the political machinists. This has been his characteristic throughout his entire political career, from the time he served as a member of the New York Legislature, beginning in 1882.

One of the greatest political manipulators this country has produced attempted to shelve Theodore Roosevelt in 1900 by nominating him for the Vice-Presidency. He succeeded in forcing the nomination upon him, but it did not operate to check his political career and place him where the political bosses thought he would be safe from doing the things that they are not accustomed to having done by men who are not rewarded with office.

Theodore Roosevelt always refused to be owned by any political machine or set of bosses. This "Eastern man with Western characteristics," as Senator Depew describes him, has forged ahead in his career by his own propulsive force and individuality.

This has brought him the severest kind of criticism on the part of not only his opponents, but the political machinists within his own party. These latter do not, of course, dare

speak above a whisper in unfavorable terms of the President and his acts. These politicians have discussed the President in a disparaging way, confidentially, but when it happens that their attitude regarding him becomes public, then they set up a loud cry of denial and declare over and over again their allegiance to the President. The great political bosses of the country, as a rule, are closely identified with the great trusts and corporations, and the desire of the strictly professional politicians is, generally speaking, the desire of the so-called trusts.

President Roosevelt has struck right out from the shoulder in expressing his mind to certain politicians who raised objections to Mr. Cortelyou as chairman of the National Republican Committee, at the time the President first proposed Mr. Cortelyou.

This caused some amusement and quite a little chagrin, but aside from the strictly professional politicians, the selection of Mr. Cortelyou on the part of the President was considered a wise one. The President is reported to have said to some of the political leaders:

"I had this matter open for months, and allowed plenty of time to make suggestions, and none of you had a word to say. Now, when it is settled, and it is too late for any discussion, you come here and want to unsettle it and find fault. I don't want to hear any more about it."

The President has forced upon the politicians the fact that this is a new era in politics. The politicians have been accustomed to look upon the national chairmanship as a position carrying with it an enormous political patronage. There is no system in the world like it for dickers and deals for place on the grandest scale. The politicians have been in the habit

of dealing with some one who has an appreciation of the place from the professional politician's standpoint. Every politician knows there is a vast amount of work connected with the position, a description of which they would not care to have presented to the public.

Theodore Roosevelt is not a politician-made President. He is the candidate of the people in the Republican party and not of the politicians. They favor him only because it is in their interests to do so.

More than a year ago, when I said to President Roosevelt that I proposed to write a book about him, he said that he believed the time for a man's biography to be written was after his death.

"I desire to write an account, the best I can, of the history that you have made and are making, Mr. President," I answered him, "rather than a biography or a 'life' in the general acceptation of that term, and I believe the people are entitled to that." And every public man, the President more than any other probably, realizes that the public are entitled to know about their public servants.

Mr. Loeb, the President's secretary, afterward remarked that the President might not be nominated, and cautioned me that I might have all of my work of more than a year collecting material for a cause that might not prove of interest to people generally.

"Not at all; the people everywhere in this country will not lose interest in Theodore Roosevelt, even though such an improbable contingency might happen that some other Republican gets the nomination," I answered. And so I believed.

Theodore Roosevelt is the greatest personal force in this country, and the record of no other man's life can be so full

of thrilling interest to every reader and particularly of inspiration and incentive to young men of the nation, as this man's.

The author became enthusiastic over the idea. He became fired with the desire to place before the public a book that would tell about how success had come to this man who, although of ample estate, deliberately chose a life of hard work; this man of pure family life who appeals to every home; this man who stands for purity and fair play for the people in politics; the man who has neutralized the evil and despotic influences of political machines, their bosses and corruptionists; the man who does not fear the powerful but unseen influences of the great trusts and financial magnates; the man who stands for all the people and thus stamps himself as the most intense statesman, in his Americanism, of the age. This is a brief outline of the life of the man I shall endeavor, in the pages that follow, to tell you about.

After I was well along in the preparation of this book, the President consented to sit for special photographs with which to illustrate it. These photographs appear in the following pages with the President's reproduced autograph as written on the photograph that was his favorite. These photographs were taken for this work just before the Chicago Convention which nominated President Roosevelt, and are his latest pictures.

What a remarkable career! Is there a man or woman, boy or girl, who would not be interested in the account of the life of such an extraordinary man? He is our first President of the Twentieth Century.

J. Martin Miller

Washington, D. C.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PAGE

Introduction 3
Theodore Roosevelt—What He Has Accomplished 13
Biography of Theodore Roosevelt 23
Theodore Roosevelt — His Qualifications for Office 31

CHAPTER I

ROOSEVELT THE PRESIDENT

Gigantic Responsibility—New-comer Closely Watched—The Prejudice Wears Away—A Democratic President—A Hard Worker—Kind and Thoughtful at All Times—Cabinet Days—A Splendid Horseman—Gives All His Time to His Country's Business 35

CHAPTER II

GETTING CLOSE TO THE PEOPLE

Many Cordial Welcomes—Tours of Prominence—The President's Carriage Struck by a Trolley Car—Death of Secret Service Officer Craig—At Chattanooga and Chickamauga—Made No Trips in 1904—The Presidential Train—The President a Delightful Companion—Sounding the Pulse of the Public .. 42

CHAPTER III

THE LAUNCHING OF A MAN

Eastern Birth with Western Characteristics—Theodore Roosevelt's Ancestors—Birth—His Youth—His Family Strict Church People—As a Boy Was Robust in Spirit but Not in Body—Principal Events of His Life—His Books—Remarkable Versatility and Adaptability—An Interesting Romance—The Highest Type of an American 52

CHAPTER IV

HOME OF THE PRESIDENT

The President's Wife and Family—Mrs. Roosevelt a Domestic Woman—Receives Many Visitors—The White House Office—How the Business is Conducted—The President's Official Household—A Visit from Carrie Nation—Shaking Hands with Three Thousand People in One Day—Marvelous Knowledge of Foreign Countries—The Army and Navy—The White House Residence—Social Customs—New Year's Day 64

CHAPTER V

DAILY LIFE AT THE WHITE HOUSE

Visits from Societies—Mrs. Roosevelt Entertains Six Hundred Children—The President's Daily Habits—A Remarkable Memory—Official Duties—Diversions—Fond of Long Walks—Plays Tennis Well and Enjoys Wrestling—The President's Secretary—Egg Rolling—At Oyster Bay 77

CHAPTER VI

LIFE IN THE WEST

PAGE

Exciting Adventures—A Mistaken Ruffian—A Western Episode—The Pleasures of the Chase—Shoots His First Buffalo—Kills Two Deer at Four Hundred Yards—An Exciting Elk Hunt—Hunting Dangerous Game—Stands Off a Band of Indians—Tribute to the Rough Riders..... 87

CHAPTER VII

ROOSEVELT THE REFORMER

Appointed a Member of the Civil Service Commission—Views on the Subject—The Merit System—The Fair Play Department—Head of the New York Police—Civic Corruption—Blackmail—An Unequal Battle—His Life Threatened—Becomes Assistant Secretary of the Navy—Military Preparedness.... 97

CHAPTER VIII

THE ROUGH RIDERS

Organizing the Regiment—A Composite Lot—College Athletes and Cowboys—The Officers—Orders to March—The Landing at Daiquiri—The First Skirmish—Death of Sergeant Fish and Captain Capron—The La Quassina Fight—The Baptism of Fire—San Juan Hill—The Surrender of Santiago—The Celebrated "Round Robin" 105

CHAPTER IX

GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK

Theodore Roosevelt's Pledge—Ambitious to be Right—Chauncey M. Depew Places Roosevelt's Name in Nomination—Advocate of Civil Service Reform—Labor Laws—Attorney-General's Department—State Canals—Did Not Wish to be Vice-President—Street Franchise Legislation—State Factory Law Enforced—Friend of the Common People..... 123

CHAPTER X

HOW ROOSEVELT BECAME PRESIDENT

The Cause of His Leadership—Attitude toward the Panama Republic—Self-confidence—The Spanish War—His First Chance—A Flesh and Blood Candidate—Roosevelt's Nomination as Vice-President—Seconds the Nomination of President McKinley—A Memorable Campaign Tour—A National Tragedy—Grasps the Reins of Power—A Hazardous Ride—Roosevelt's Proclamation. 129

CHAPTER XI

THE PANAMA CANAL

History of the Project—Its Inception—The Nicaragua Route Proposed—The Canal Bill Signed by the President—Text of the Law—The Spooner Substitute—The Direction of the Panama Canal Placed in the Hands of the War Department—President Roosevelt on the Canal Question—The Incompetency of Colombia—A Bloodless Rebellion—The Duty of the United States. 137

CHAPTER XII

THE MERGER DECISION

PAGE

The Anti-trust Act Can Prevent Combination—Judge Thayer's Decision Held as a Victory for the People—President Roosevelt Given Much Credit—The Declaration of the Court—Trusts are Illegal—A Sweeping Opinion—A Triumph of Law..... 148

CHAPTER XIII

THE PRESIDENT STARTS ON HIS TRIP

Anxious to Give an Account of His Stewardship—Rides in the Cab with the Engineer—Throngs Await His Coming—Arrives at Chicago—Reception at Evanston—The President's Celebrated Speech on the Monroe Doctrine—Trip through Wisconsin—Famous Address on Trusts in Milwaukee..... 155

CHAPTER XIV

WESTWARD HO!

Enthusiastic Crowds at Every Stopping Place—In Minneapolis and St. Paul—The Wage-Worker and the Tiller of the Soil—Through the Dakotas—The Philippine Policy—Yellowstone Park—The President in Nebraska—Across the State of Iowa..... 181

CHAPTER XV

SWINGING AROUND THE CIRCLE

Arrives at St. Louis—Dines with Ex-President Cleveland—Dedicates the Louisiana Purchase Exposition—The President's Speech Received with Great Enthusiasm—Cordial Demonstration by Kansas City People—Ovations in Colorado and California—Speaks on Expansion in San Francisco—The Trip through Nevada and Oregon—Greeted by Cheering Thousands in Washington, Montana, Wyoming, Idaho and Utah—Homeward Bound..... 200

CHAPTER XVI

THE CONVENTION ASSEMBLES

Elihu Root Made Chairman—A Remarkable Speech—Difficult Problems—Will of the People Must Govern—Assurance of Good Government—Candidates of Proved Competency—Past Achievements—Sound Currency—Trust Regulations—Practical Laws—Trade Doubled—The Isthmian Canal—Monroe Doctrine Upheld—Army and Navy Strengthened—Tribute to Roosevelt.... 224

CHAPTER XVII

THE SECOND DAY

Chairman Joseph G. Cannon Addresses the Convention—The Party's History—American Labor Fostered—The Country's Policy Outlined—Contrast in Administrations—The Philippine Islands—The Enemy of Trusts—The Strike Question—Great Things to be Done—The Platform Read and Adopted..... 247

CHAPTER XVIII

THE REPUBLICAN PLATFORM

PAGE

The Party's Record—Unhappy Conditions Met—The Gold Standard—Free Cuba—The Panama Canal—The Trusts Curbed—Tariff Plank—Foreign Markets—The Merchant Marine—To Maintain the Navy—The Foreign Policy—Confidence in Roosevelt 262

CHAPTER XIX

THE CANDIDATES NOMINATED

Ex-Governor Black Places Theodore Roosevelt in Nomination—Discord in the Democratic Party—Justice, Equality and Progress—The Republican Party Has Never Failed in a Crisis—Roosevelt No Stranger—Events Select the Strongest Man—Enthusiasm Rampant—The Seconding Speech of Senator Beveridge—George A. Knight of California Arouses the Convention—Harry Stillwell Edwards Speaks for the South—Nomination of Charles W. Fairbanks—The Convention Adjourns 268

CHAPTER XX

THROUGH ONE ADMINISTRATION

President Roosevelt's First Message—Entertains Prince Henry of Prussia—Cuban Reciprocity—The Great Anthracite Coal Strike—The Venezuelan Affair—The Alaskan Boundary—The Panama Canal—Postoffice Frauds—The Railroad Merger Defeated—The Hay Note 294

CHAPTER XXI

Biography of Hon. Charles W. Fairbanks, Republican Nominee for Vice-President 305

CHAPTER XXII

Letters of Theodore Roosevelt 316

CHAPTER XXIII

Speeches of Theodore Roosevelt 331

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Portrait of Theodore Roosevelt.
Edith Kermit Roosevelt.
The President and His Family.
Alice Roosevelt.
Theodore Roosevelt at Twelve Years of Age.
The Hero of San Juan Hill.
The President in His Office.
Hunting the Cougar.
Mr. Roosevelt as a Cowboy.
President Roosevelt and His Sons.
The President Riding Across Country.
Ready for a Ride.
The President's Favorite Exercise.
The Executive Mansion at Washington.
President Roosevelt's Room in the New White House.
Hon. Charles Warren Fairbanks.
The Family of Hon. Charles Warren Fairbanks.
The President Says Good-bye.
The President in Rhode Island.
President Roosevelt in Vermont.
President Roosevelt and Senator Hoar.
An Open-Air Speech.
The Nation's Chief at St. Paul.
"Should Auld Acquaintance be Forgot?"
At Fort Yellowstone.
The President in Wyoming.
A Sixty-Mile Ride.
At Yellowstone Park.
The Reception at Portland.
President Roosevelt in San Francisco.
The President and the Engineer.
The Celestial Dragon.
President Roosevelt in California.
The President in New Mexico.
The President's Arrival at Santa Cruz.

President Roosevelt in Kansas.
At Grand Canyon, Arizona.
The President in Nebraska.
A Sea of Faces.
Easter Egg Rolling on the White House Grounds.
President Roosevelt and Prince Henry.
Sagamore Hill.
Interior View of President Roosevelt's Country Home.
Exterior View of the Coliseum at Chicago.
Republican National Convention in Session.
William Loeb, Jr.
Cornelius Bliss.
Redfield Proctor.
Albert J. Beveridge.
Henry C. Lodge.
William P. Frye.
John C. Spooner.
Chauncey Mitchell Depew.
William McKinley.
The President in Missouri.
A Typical Iowa Audience.
At Chickamauga Park.
On the Top of Lookout Mountain.
William B. Allison.
George F. Hoar.
Nelson W. Aldrich.
Edward O Walcott.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

WHAT HE HAS ACCOMPLISHED

Many men have an idea that because of President Roosevelt's vigorous and somewhat restless nature he is not careful and thoughtful in the discharge of great duties; but the truth is that when he has a great or important duty to perform, realizing himself that he is full of energy and activity, he seems more inclined to consult and deliberate, before positive action is taken, than most men. Therefore when his career as president is looked over it is found that he has exercised good judgment, and has never done anything to lower the dignity of his great office or to jeopardize the interests and honor of his country.

Take, for instance, the diplomatic relations between the United States and foreign countries; there have been but few presidents in our history who have enjoyed the esteem of foreign rulers to the extent that President Roosevelt has.

His personal relations with many of the rulers of the great nations are exceedingly pleasant and there is not the slightest danger that the United States will have any trouble with any foreign nation, unless that nation should attempt in some way to take advantage of our country.

As chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, I had occasion to look into the question as to what the United States had been doing in its dealings with foreign powers since the

beginning of the McKinley administration and through the Roosevelt administration. I venture that nothing will be found in President Roosevelt's administration in dealing with foreign governments that would not be endorsed three to one by the American people. Under the McKinley-Roosevelt administration more important diplomatic questions were brought to a successful conclusion than under any previous administration in the history of the United States.

Our acquisition of Porto Rico and the Philippines, while important to the United States, has given to the people of those islands a better government, more liberty, greater prosperity than they ever enjoyed in their previous history.

To Porto Rico we have given practically the same government as we have given to our own Territories. The governor of the island is appointed by the president, but by law we have provided that Porto Rico shall have a local legislature elected by her own people, authorized to pass laws for the local government of the island. We have provided Porto Rico an admirable judiciary, composed principally of native Porto Ricans.

We have given to Porto Rico the benefit of free trade with the United States, which has in no small measure contributed to her prosperous condition.

The Porto Ricans are a quiet, orderly people, apparently perfectly satisfied to remain under our flag, and have given to the United States no embarrassment.

When we assumed control of the Philippine Islands, under the treaty of peace with Spain, the natives were in a state of revolution against the authority of the Spanish government. That revolution continued for a time against the sovereignty of the United States, but at last peace was restored, a comparatively small army of some 15,000 soldiers remaining to secure

order. We have provided the Philippines with a complete civil service government and as large a measure of local self-government as they are capable of exercising.

President Roosevelt well summed up the Philippine situation in his message at the beginning of the second session of the Fifty-Seventh Congress, wherein he said:

"Civil government has now been introduced. Not only does each Filipino enjoy such rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness as he has never before known during the recorded history of the islands, but the people taken as a whole now enjoy a measure of self-government greater than that granted to any other orientals by any foreign power, and greater than that enjoyed by any other orientals under their own government, save the Japanese alone.

"No policy ever entered into by the American people has vindicated itself in a more signal manner than the policy of holding the Philippines."

The termination of the war with Spain freed Cuba and gave to the United States Porto Rico and the Philippines. But there were more important results. That short, though momentous, conflict, small though it was in comparison with our own Civil War, had almost as important an effect upon the subsequent history and policy of the United States.

Our war with Spain brought the nation to a self-consciousness as no other event in our history has done. That conflict aroused us to a realization of the fact that more than a century of remarkable internal industrial development had rendered us an important factor in the world's system.

Under the administrations of McKinley and Roosevelt the United States obtained a position among the nations of the world which it never occupied in any former period of our

national life. Eight years ago we were not considered or consulted in the policies or politics of the world. To-day we are regarded by the other nations as one of the great leading nations of the world, and are consulted as a factor in the settlement of the policies and the disposition of the important questions arising among the nations.

The simple fact that this nation is a factor and is so recognized by other nations is of no very great consequence, except as it may influence other nations in their conduct toward us, and this nation may exert its power among other nations for the uplifting of mankind. The world is slowly moving toward the recognition of the doctrine that governments are made by and for the people and not the people for the government.

In securing the freedom of Cuba a question that had been before succeeding administrations since 1823 was finally and for all time disposed of.

The long-pending controversy between the United States and Great Britain over the boundary between Alaska and Canada was another very important diplomatic question which was settled under this administration.

In view of our long and undisputed occupation of the territory in question, President Roosevelt declined to allow the reference of the Alaskan boundary controversy to a regular arbitration at The Hague Court, but instead he proposed the creation of a judicial tribunal composed of an equal number of members from each country, feeling confident that our claim would be successfully established by such a body. Against much opposition and many predictions of failure, on January 24, 1903, a treaty between the United States and Great Britain was signed, providing for such a tribunal.

The treaty was ratified and the members of the tribunal

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EDITH KERMIT ROOSEVELT

Wife of the President.

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appointed. Assembling on September 3, 1903, and being presided over by the lord chief justice of England, it reached a conclusion on October 20th, resulting in a complete victory for the United States and sustaining every material contention of our government.

Thus was confirmed the wisdom of President Roosevelt's action, peacefully settling this irritating controversy, which, it was believed by some, would eventually cause war between the United States and Great Britain, and which certainly stood as an obstacle to the maintenance of peaceful relations with Canada.

The diplomatic complications which had for years stood in the way of an interoceanic canal connecting the two great oceans were finally disposed of during the last two Republican administrations, and the practical work of constructing the canal was commenced under the administration of President Roosevelt.

A canal across the Isthmus, connecting the Atlantic with the Pacific Ocean, in the interest of the commerce of the world, has been the dream of the ages. For almost three-quarters of a century an interoceanic canal has been a policy of every party and almost of every administration.

It remained for the McKinley-Roosevelt administrations, through the diplomacy of Secretary Hay, to successfully negotiate the Hay-Pauncefote treaty with Great Britain, by which the Clayton-Bulwer treaty was finally superseded and the United States given authority to build a canal and assume the responsibility of safeguarding and regulating its neutral use by all the nations of the world on terms of equality.

The way was thus opened for the negotiation of a treaty with one of the two governments which had sovereignty over

the two available canal routes, Colombia or Nicaragua. Congress expressed its preference for the Panama route. A treaty with Colombia was ratified, and rejected by Colombia. The State of Panama seceded and regained her independence, and is now a complete and independent republic. A new treaty was negotiated with Panama, much superior to the one which Colombia had rejected, which gave the United States every concession which we desired or could ask for the construction of a canal. Then the property of the Panama Canal Company was purchased.

This is only another illustration of the success of the Roosevelt administration in bringing to a triumphant termination a question which other presidents had failed to settle. Thus, under the short three years of President Roosevelt's administration more progress was made toward the construction of an interoceanic canal than in three-quarters of a century of our previous history.

During the past few years the situation in the Far East, and especially in China, has been a delicate and most critical one. The acquisition of Hawaii and the Philippines gave to the United States great interest in the important events transpiring in the Orient.

The open-door policy of Secretary Hay has succeeded; an opportunity has been given to secure enlarging markets for the products of our growing industries, and the territorial integrity and the complete sovereignty of the government of China assured.

Secretary Hay, on February 10, 1904, addressed to the governments of Russia, Japan and China, and to other powers interested in China, a note of the following tenor:

"It is the earnest desire of the government of the United

States that in the military operations which have begun between Russia and Japan, the neutrality of China, and in all practicable ways her administrative entity, shall be protected by both parties, and that the area of hostilities shall be localized and limited as much as possible, so that undue excitement and disturbance of the Chinese people may be prevented and the least possible loss to the commerce and peaceful intercourse of the world may be occasioned."

This measure was recognized as so wise and was so generally commended by the nations of the world that not only was it accepted by the neutral nations, but by Russia and Japan themselves.

Too much credit cannot be given to the administration of President Roosevelt for the splendid manner in which this delicate and complicated Chinese and Eastern question was managed by the admirable statesmanship and diplomacy of his great Secretary of State.

Immediately after the outbreak of the war, on February 11, 1904, President Roosevelt issued his proclamation, declaring that war unhappily existed between Japan on the one side and Russia on the other; that the United States were on terms of friendship and amity with both the contending powers and the persons inhabiting their several dominions; that the United States assumed a neutral position, and proclaimed the strictest rules of neutrality for the government of our nation and its people in the important conflict.

Under the administration of President Roosevelt alone, more than thirty treaties and international agreements were concluded. There were concluded and proclaimed extradition treaties with Peru, Switzerland, Belgium, Chile, Denmark, Servia, Brazil, Guatemala, Orange Free State, Argentine

Republic, Great Britain, Bolivia, and an extradition and supplementary extradition treaty with Mexico.

The supplementary extradition treaty with Mexico was specially important as providing for the extradition of bribe givers and bribe takers, a precedent thereby being established for the crime of bribery being made an extraditionable offense.

President Roosevelt well said in one of his annual messages that there can be no crime more serious than bribery; that other offenses violate one law while corruption strikes at the foundation of all law.

An important treaty, establishing friendly relations with Spain and containing provisions general in treaties of friendship, was ratified and proclaimed. Water-boundary conventions were concluded with Mexico; property conventions with Great Britain and Guatemala; a convention with Spain for the cession to the United States of certain outlying islands in the Philippines; a trade-mark convention with Guatemala; a consular convention with Greece; a commercial convention with Ethiopia; a treaty with Mexico for the arbitration of the Pious Fund, and a number of less important conventions and diplomatic arrangements, which I cannot stop to enumerate, have in the past few years been concluded and proclaimed.

An important treaty with Great Britain and Germany was concluded, by which Great Britain retired from Samoa, and Germany and Great Britain renounced in favor of the United States all claim to the island of Tutuila and its outlying islets, Germany retaining the other islands in the Samoan group.

The consular service of the United States is constantly increasing in efficiency. Presidents McKinley and Roosevelt have appointed a corps of consuls to represent our commercial

interests abroad who have displayed unusual ability in the discharge of the varied and important duties that consuls of the United States have to perform. In China and Central and South America the consular officers have been called upon to perform delicate and trying duties of a diplomatic character, and have discharged those duties with rare tact and ability.

Under the beneficent administration of Republican presidents the Union became consolidated into one nation, and in the recent crisis through which our own nation and the nations of the world have been passing, the party of Lincoln and Grant and Blaine and McKinley and Roosevelt is still faithful to duty and manifests the wisdom and statesmanship necessary to meet every emergency and wisely dispose of all questions with an eye single to the welfare of the people, the stability of the Union, and the good of mankind.

The nation is no longer a house divided against itself; it has followed the teachings of the Father of his Country in being mindful of our relations with foreign countries, in adopting the policy of extending our commercial relations with as little political connection as possible.

The policy of this nation now is and ought to be absolute neutrality between the nations of the world, whether at peace or at war, honest and straightforward in our intercourse with all.

The struggle between Russia and Japan is a calamity which the nations greatly regret, and all the nations would rejoice if that war would cease, and I am sure that this government would gladly do anything possible, by the consent of the contending powers, to effect a settlement on fair terms to each.

I have no authority to speak for the Republican party or

for the Republican administration—I speak only for myself—but I believe I voice the judgment of both the people and our administration when I say they are for peace with all the nations and are not in favor of a policy of aggression in order to secure expansion of territory in any direction.

BIOGRAPHY OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT

Roosevelt, Theodore, twenty-sixth President of the United States, was born in New York City, October 27, 1858; son of Theodore (1831-78) and Martha (Bulloch) Roosevelt, grandson of Cornelius Van Schaack and Margaret (Barnhill) Roosevelt, great-grandson of James (or Jacobus) John and Mary (Van Schaack) Roosevelt, and is descended in a direct line from Claes Martenszoon and Jannetje (Thomas) Van Rosevelt, who came to New Amsterdam from Holland about 1651.

He attended for a short time the McMullen School, New York City, but was so frail in health that he was unable to continue, and was then placed under private instructors at his home. He was tutored for college by Mr. Cutler, subsequently the founder of the Cutler School, and was graduated from Harvard in 1880.

Was married, September 23, 1880, to Alice, daughter of George Cabot and Caroline (Haskell) Lee of Boston, Mass. She died in 1883, leaving one daughter, Alice Lee.

He became a student in the New York law school; was a Republican member of the New York assembly 1882, 1883 and 1884; was candidate of his party for speaker of the assembly in 1884; chairman of the committee on cities and of a special committee known as the Roosevelt Investigating Committee. As a supporter of the civil service reform, he introduced bills which became laws affecting the government of New York

City, and especially the patronage exercised by the sheriff, county clerk and register, which greatly reformed the conduct of their respective offices.

He was a delegate to the Republican State Convention of 1884; delegate-at-large from New York and chairman of the New York delegation to the Republican National Convention that met at Chicago, June 3, 1884; purchased the Elk Horn and the Chimney Butte ranches at Medora on the Little Missouri River in North Dakota, where he lived, 1884-86.

He was a member of the New York State Militia, 1884-88, serving in the Eighth Regiment, N. G. S. N. Y., as lieutenant, and for three years as captain.

He was married secondly, December 2, 1886, to Edith Kermit, daughter of Charles and Gertrude Elizabeth (Tyler) Carow of New York City.

He was the unsuccessful Republican candidate for mayor of New York City in 1886, when Abram S. Hewitt was elected; was in May, 1889, appointed on the U. S. Civil Service Commission in Washington, D. C., by President Harrison, and served as president of the commission. He was continued in office by President Cleveland, but resigned in May, 1895, to accept the position of police commissioner of New York City in the administration of Mayor Strong, and he was president of the bi-partisan board, 1895-97.

He was appointed assistant secretary of the U. S. Navy in April, 1897, by President McKinley, and on the declaration of the war with Spain in April, 1898, he resigned to recruit the First U. S. V. Cavalry, a regiment of "Rough Riders" made up mostly of his acquaintances on the Western plains, including cowboys and miners, with some members of the college athletic clubs of New York and Boston—men who could ride,

shoot and live in the open. He was commissioned lieutenant-colonel, May 6, 1898, and was promoted to the rank of colonel after the battle of La Quassina, San Juan, when Col. Leonard Wood was promoted to brigadier-general and assigned to the governorship of Santiago.

When the war closed, the Republican party of his native State nominated him their candidate for governor, and he was elected over Van Wyck, Democrat, Kline, Prohibitionist, Hanford, Social Labor, and Bacon, Citizens' ticket, by a plurality of 17,786 votes in a total vote of 1,343,968. He served as governor of New York, 1899-1900. His administration as governor was conspicuous in his thorough work in reforming the canal boards; instituting an improved system of civil service, including the adoption of the merit system in county offices, and in calling an extra session of the legislature to secure the passage of a bill he had recommended at the general session, taking as real estate the value of railroads and other franchises to use public streets, in spite of the protests of corporations and Republican leaders.

He was nominated Vice-President of the United States by the Republican National Convention that met at Philadelphia, June, 1900, where he was forced by the demands of the Western delegates, to accept the nomination, with William McKinley for President, and he was elected November 6, 1900. He was sworn into office as the twenty-sixth President of the United States, September 14, 1901, by reason of the assassination of President McKinley; Roosevelt being, at the time, less than forty-three years old, the youngest man in the history of the United States to have attained the chief magistracy of the government. He served to the end of the presidential term, which expired March 4, 1905.

In assuming the presidency, he reappointed the entire cabinet of President McKinley as it existed at the time of his death, and he announced that it should be his purpose to carry out absolutely unbroken the political policy worked out by his predecessor. The cabinet, with the changes during his administration, was as follows: John Hay of the District of Columbia, secretary of state; Lyman J. Gage of Illinois, secretary of the treasury, succeeded by Leslie M. Shaw of Iowa; Elihu Root of New York, secretary of war, succeeded by William H. Taft of Ohio; Ethan A. Hitchcock of Missouri, secretary of the interior; John D. Long of Massachusetts, secretary of the navy, succeeded by William H. Moody of Massachusetts, and who was, in turn, succeeded by Paul Morton of Illinois; James Wilson of Iowa, secretary of agriculture; Charles Emory Smith of Pennsylvania, postmaster-general, succeeded by Henry C. Payne of Wisconsin; Philander C. Knox of Pennsylvania, attorney-general, succeeded by William H. Moody.

The diplomatic representatives continued from McKinley's administration were: Joseph H. Choate of New York, U. S. ambassador to Great Britain; Horace Porter of New York, U. S. ambassador to France; Robert S. McCormick of Illinois, U. S. minister to Austria until January 8, 1903, when he was transferred as U. S. ambassador to Russia; Charlemagne Tower of Philadelphia, U. S. ambassador to Russia, transferred January 8, 1903, to Germany; Andrew D. White of New York, U. S. ambassador to Germany, who resigned December, 1902; George L. von Meyer of Massachusetts, U. S. ambassador to Italy, and Bellamy Storer of Ohio, U. S. minister to Spain, transferred December, 1902, to Austria as U. S. ambassador and being succeeded at Madrid, Spain, by Arthur Sherburn Hardy, late U. S. envoy to Switzerland.

A vacancy occurred on the bench of the U. S. Supreme Court by the resignation of Associate Justice Horace Gray, and on August 11, 1902, President Roosevelt appointed Oliver Wendell Holmes of Massachusetts, associate justice, and on the resignation of Associate Justice George Shiras, Jr., in 1903, he appointed Judge William R. Day of the U. S. Circuit Court, associate justice.

His first message to Congress followed the line of policy foreshadowed in McKinley's last speech at Buffalo, and as President he made extended journeys through the various States, the welcome extended to him being alike generous and universal in New England and in the Southern States. It is safe to say that no president who had reached the office through the vice-presidency began his administration under better auspices or with less of partisan opposition and criticism. His recommendations were acknowledged to be wise and conservative, and while Congress did not adopt them all, it gave to each careful consideration. His action in reference to the coal strike of 1902 restored order and secured a return of the miners to their work, and at the same time made the workingmen feel that their cause had not suffered from his counsel. In the complications arising from the Venezuela difficulties in 1902-03, he maintained the Monroe Doctrine in all negotiations with the European powers interested, and was honored by the government of Venezuela in being named as an acceptable arbitrator, which duty he gracefully avoided by proposing The Hague tribunal as the proper means for arriving at a peaceful solution.

He enjoyed high social, literary and academic distinction before he became President, having been elected a member of the Columbia Historical Society, to which he contributed

papers on the Dutch colonies of New Amsterdam; the National Geographical Society; the Union League Club and the Century Association of New York City; the Anthropological Society of Washington; the American Museum of Natural History, of which he was a trustee, as he was of the State Charities Association and of the Newsboys' Lodging House, of which his father was the organizer and a liberal patron.

He organized, in 1887, and was the first president of the Boone and Crockett Club, whose objects are the hunting of big game, exploration and preservation of game and forests, holding the office until 1896. He instituted, February 2, 1899, and was the first commander of the Naval and Military Order of the Spanish-American War; and became a member of the Rough Riders' Association, organized in Cuba before the disbandment of the First Regiment, United States Volunteers Cavalry, and of the National Association of Spanish-American War Veterans, incorporated December 14, 1899. He was made an honorary member of the Union League Club of Chicago in 1902, and of the Alpine Club of London. He received the honorary degree of LL.D. from Columbia in 1899, from Yale in October, 1901, and from Harvard in 1902, having been elected a member of the Harvard University Board of Overseers in 1895.

He is the author of History of the Naval War of 1812 (1882); Hunting Trips of a Ranchman (1885); Life of Thomas H. Benton (1885) and Life of Gouverneur Morris (1887), in the "American Statesmen Series"; Ranch Life and the Hunting Trail (1888); Essays on Practical Politics (1888); The Winning of the West—The Founding of the Alleghany Commonwealths, 1784-90 (Vols. I and II, 1889); History of New York City (1890); The Wilderness Hunter (1893); "The Boone and

Crockett Club Series," edited by Roosevelt and George Bird Grinnell; American Big Game Hunting (1893); Hunting in Many Lands (1895), and The Trail and Camp Fire (1896); Hero Tales from American History, fourteen tales by Theodore Roosevelt and twelve by Henry Cabot Lodge (1895); The Winning of the West—Louisiana and the North-West (Vols. III and IV, 1893-96); American Ideals (1897); The Rough Riders (1899); Oliver Cromwell (1900); The Strenuous Life (1900); part author The Deer Family (1902).

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

HIS QUALIFICATIONS FOR OFFICE

If there is anything the people out West like, above all others, it is a man with convictions. Thousands of Democrats believe implicitly in President Roosevelt. I know the conservative, thinking men in that party do.

President Roosevelt is a conservator of public and private property and the workingman's friend. He has been identified with the West and is in touch with the stock-raisers, farmers, lumbermen, miners, mechanics, and business men throughout every State of the great West. On his famous trip extending from one end of the country to the other, President Roosevelt was paid homage by the people universally. No man in this country has ever received such a continued and enduring series of ovations. He is the exponent of the highest class of our citizenship. His home life is ideal. The very foundation of this Republic is the home. We want a man at the head of this nation whose first impulse is for the home and who honors it and its sacredness above all other institutions, and such a man we have in the White House. Theodore Roosevelt is a gentleman of the very highest type. He is one of the ripest all-round scholars in this country.

He is one of the most versatile men I have ever known. I have heard him address all kinds of people. In California he has spoken to our university students, the public schools, the lumbermen, the miners, the horticulturists, the viticultur-

ists, the farmers, the ranchmen, the commercial travelers, and merchants. I have also heard him address the women of the Red Cross. He could talk to each of these classes with equal facility, about what they represented. There is no man in the nation who understands the requirements and the needs of the American people as does Theodore Roosevelt. I began life as a sailor boy at seven dollars a month. I have associated with the working classes of people, for I had as hard a struggle as any of them in my early life. I have worked as a sailor, a miner, a farmer, and a merchant. I personally know this class of people, and am glad to have the honor of their acquaintance. I know them so well that I can say that the great middle classes of people, as well as what we call the laboring people, are enthusiastic admirers of Theodore Roosevelt. In fact, nearly all of these people feel that he is their personal friend and advocate.

President Roosevelt was the most breezy candidate that was ever put forward in this country. I say this in the sense that the masses of the people, East and West, all shouted for him. They appreciated him as an all-around man. He is perfectly at home on a Spanish mule or a broncho, herding his cattle on the range. I remember once that President Grover Cleveland was asked if he had ever been out West. He replied that he had been as far as Chicago. The people of this country, more than at any other time during its wonderful history, require a man as the Chief Executive of the nation who has a personal knowledge of every State of the Union. Every one knows that President Roosevelt is possessed of this knowledge. Those who have not had the pleasure of hearing him speak, have been privileged to read his addresses delivered from one end of the country to the other.

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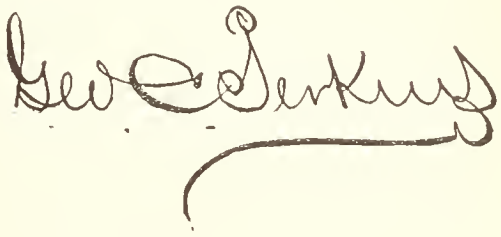
ALICE ROOSEVELT

Oldest daughter of the President.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT AT TWELVE YEARS OF AGE

If the people of this country would read and study these addresses carefully, they would have a very good knowledge of the history of the United States. President Roosevelt is not controlled by trusts, corporations, or any set of scheming politicians. With such a man in the presidential chair, the country is safe, and the rights of every citizen, male and female, will be protected at all times, as long as Theodore Roosevelt has charge of the Ship of State.



CHAPTER I

ROOSEVELT THE PRESIDENT

Gigantic Responsibility—Newcomer Closely Watched—The Prejudice Wears Away—A Democratic President—A Hard Worker—Kind and Thoughtful at All Times—Cabinet Days—A Splendid Horseman—Gives All His Time to His Country's Business.

President Roosevelt came into office under the most adverse circumstances, so far as his own political fortunes were concerned. He succeeded the most popular President the country has had for many years—a man beloved by politicians and the people alike—and while President Roosevelt assumed the duties of his office with the confidence of the people who knew him, it cannot be truthfully said that at first the politicians were with him. The remarkable popularity of McKinley, his tactfulness with the Senators and Representatives in Washington which had established him in a position unusually different from factionism or dislike, were really stumbling-blocks in the way of the young President just taking upon his shoulders the gigantic responsibilities which McKinley had carried with such success.

CLOSELY WATCHED BY POLITICIANS

Consequently, the politicians in Washington watched the new man very carefully. Some of them heartily hoped that he would make mistakes sufficient in a short time to prevent any possibility that he would have any show for the Presidential nomination in 1904. He said little and did little which

was not very closely analyzed. His reception of officials in his office at the White House; his manner of addressing them; in fact, his words and mannerisms, did not escape vigilant observation. Little was found to cause objection, but that little was published all over the country at every opportunity. President Roosevelt saw what he had to contend with, and then it was that he threw into the great task all of the wonderful resources at his command. His own tactfulness came into play, and in his treatment of Senators and Representatives who were partially prejudiced against him, he handled them in such a manner as to gradually win them all. He advised with them freely, and refrained from the stubbornness and strenuosity which it was predicted so freely would be the main features of his administration and make-up.

A TRUE DEMOCRAT

The new President was as democratic as his predecessor. He gave time to the humblest and lowest caller who had business with him, and there was no shutting of doors against any man. In six months after entering upon his duties, the President had many more thousands of friends than at the beginning. In twelve months these were doubled, and in two years his nomination by the Republican party at Chicago was assured. There naturally remained a little enmity by those who have been disappointed in presidential aspirations themselves, and at one time the opposition had almost succeeded in inducing Senator Hanna or some one else to become a candidate against the President. Again, however, Mr. Roosevelt was equal to the emergency. His conduct was so fair, so honorable, and yet so dignified that the opposition had almost died away before the death of Senator Hanna, and the

very men who had attempted to engineer it were coming to the White House making amends for their conduct. Some of these men were among the most prominent Republicans in Congress. Their feeling against the President was based on no satisfactory ground, except that he was young, thoroughly sincere, and did not give up everything that the politicians asked him. Thus it came about that six months before the Chicago Convention had officially rendered its decision, the President's nomination was a foregone conclusion.

ALWAYS IN GOOD PHYSICAL CONDITION

President Roosevelt has always been a hard worker in his office, and at the same time he has found some time for out-door exercise, which he considered essential to his health and to keep himself in good condition so as to serve his country best, and his ideas that the sanest and wisest and most active mind is to be found in the healthiest body have proven absolutely correct in his own case.

HIS BUSIEST HOURS

Entering his office each morning about nine o'clock, the President has remained there until about a quarter of two, talking to hundreds of people who desire to see him. After an hour at luncheon the President again assumes his duties in the office, and when he found opportunity has gone horseback riding, walking or indulged in other out-door exercise that would keep him in physical condition. His busiest hours, however, are those from nine to one-thirty or two. While Congress is in session he sees from ten to twenty members of Congress every day, besides cabinet officers, national committeemen, State chairmen, foreign ministers, ambassadors and

minor officials, representatives of commercial and religious bodies, pleasure callers, and many others who cannot be classified. How he is able to get through the work and retain the good will of all his callers has long been a mystery.

His office rooms are two, besides the cabinet room, which he also uses in the reception of his visitors. His private room adjoins the cabinet room, with a sliding door, and just to the west of his private room is a little reception room, where his doorkeeper places such of his visitors as must be separated before the President can see them. From one room to another, and from one visitor to another, the President goes, entering into conversation, listening and remembering what is said to him, making suggestions of a helpful nature, kind and thoughtful at all times. Within a half-hour he may talk to a United States Senator about the needs of Alaska or the Philippines; to a Representative about the most complex section of the Dingley tariff law; to the Secretary of the Treasury about the finances of the country; to the Attorney-General about a pardon case, and to a national committeeman about the politics in his State. In fact, there is no way of realizing the wide range of subjects covered in the course of a day's office work of the President of the United States. He must listen to every case, and know something about them all. If he did not he would appear to be an ignorant man, and that would lead to slurring remarks about his lack of information and ability.

ACCESSIBLE TO ANY ONE

From the subject of political matters, or tne consideration of some momentous foreign question, the President in a few moments may open his heart and listen in a reverent and kindly attitude to some lonely woman who is asking for the

pardon of an only son, who has committed some offense of a criminal nature, or in violation of the military laws of the army or navy of the United States. There is no difference in his treatment of this woman in black and that accorded to the great Secretary of State.

CABINET MEETINGS

On cabinet days, Tuesdays and Fridays of each week, beginning at eleven o'clock each day, the President sits at the head of the big cabinet table, and listens while each cabinet officer brings up matters of importance in his respective department. The President receives visitors of all classes between nine and eleven o'clock, and is often engaged for fifteen or twenty minutes past the cabinet hour, but he receives all who are waiting for him before he goes in and takes his seat in the big chair at the head of the cabinet table. A cabinet meeting is not such a solemn affair as it has often been represented. By right of precedent, the Secretary of State is the first man to bring up before the President and his fellow cabinet officers any business that he may have to lay before them. If he has no business, or when he has concluded with what he has to say, the Secretary of the Treasury, ranking next in the official family, commences to talk about matters in his department, and this is the procedure followed unless the questions under consideration are of unusual or extreme gravity, when departmental affairs are laid aside and the President and the entire cabinet discuss the subject which has been brought forward.

A SPLENDID HORSEMAN

Upon reaching his offices after luncheon in the afternoon, the President's custom is to see such visitors as are waiting

for him, and then to spend some time in dictating letters, or public messages and orders to Secretary Loeb, and then if he finds the time to spare he goes horseback riding with Mrs. Roosevelt or some personal friend. He is a splendid horseman, and in that respect he is the idol of the United States cavalry. At Chickamauga Park on one occasion since his induction into office, he made such a splendid figure on horseback and handled himself so well that every cavalry trooper present swore by him and scattered praises of him throughout the army of the United States.

SELDOM WITHOUT GUESTS

At dinner time, usually 7:30 o'clock in the evening, the President is seldom without guests. His hours during the day are so crowded with business that he has no time to talk with personal friends and political associates on topics other than governmental, and his habit is to invite his friends to dinner with him. They sit at the table for some time, discussing many matters, and then adjourn to the parlors of the White House, where the President continues to talk with them until a late hour. He never retires before midnight at any time, and he is generally out of bed by eight o'clock in the morning. Some of the most important conferences of President Roosevelt's administration have been held in the private dining-rooms and parlors of the White House. It is on these dinner occasions that the President not only assembles around him his close personal and political friends, but oftentimes the wisest of the statesmen in Congress and the greatest of political generals. There he obtains their views on whatever important subject is pending. During the session of Congress the policy to be followed by the party in legislation is most often

under consideration. During political years something about the party's future welfare is often discussed.

DEVOTES ALL HIS TIME

Thus from early morning to midnight the President gives his time to his country's business, and lends all the vigor of his intellect and physical energies to meeting the great responsibilities thrust upon him. In doing so, too, he is uniformly thoughtful and considerate of those about him and with him, and his personality has grown with his experience.

CHAPTER II

GETTING CLOSE TO THE PEOPLE

Many Cordial Welcomes—Tours of Prominence—The President's Carriage Struck by a Trolleycar—Death of Secret Service Officer Craig—At Chattanooga and Chickamauga—Made Few Trips in 1904—The Presidential Train—The President a Delightful Companion—Sounding the Pulse of the Public.

President Roosevelt's popularity throughout the country has been attested by the enthusiastic receptions extended to him by the people of the United States during the various trips he made. Even President McKinley, as warmly as he was held by the people of the country, received no more cordial welcomes than President Roosevelt in his tours over the United States. Both Presidents came in contact with the people directly; talked to them from the rear end of their cars; over the platforms and in crowded houses and halls, and looking into the faces of those in front of him President Roosevelt has had no reason at any time to suppose that there was any feeling against him anywhere. Mr. Roosevelt has believed that there was no better way of getting close to the people than going around among them, talking to them, and shaking their hands.

HAS MADE THIRTY-FIVE TRIPS

Since his induction into office the President has made about thirty-five trips out of Washington. Most of these were very short, being for the purpose of making speeches at vari-

ous points in response to the wishes of conventions, societies, etc.; going to his home in Oyster Bay to vote or spend the summer; visiting his Alma Mater and friends at Harvard; inspecting affairs at Annapolis and West Point; presenting medals for marksmanship at Seagirt, N. J., and short hunting trips into Virginia. The President's love for his eldest son, Theodore, Junior, and the natural anxiety of a father, induced him to spend five days at Groton, Massachusetts, in February, 1902, when Theodore, Jr., lay at the point of death from pneumonia. The faithful father remained at the bedside of his son until the crisis had passed.

HIS TRIP TO CHARLESTON EXPOSITION

The first tour of prominence taken by the President was to the Charleston, S. C., Exposition in April, 1902. The President spent some time in Charleston, and was most cordially received there. His next trip was to Pittsburg, on the 4th of July, 1902, at which time he delivered a speech to 50,000 people and received an ovation. His speech was significant, in connection with his attitude on the trust question, and his intention to have the Attorney-General proceed against those that were believed to be violating the Sherman and other anti-trust laws. Mr. Roosevelt at that time plainly indicated that the laws of the country must be obeyed by individuals and corporations; that there would be no discriminations against one or the other, but that no matter how tremendously wealthy a corporation might be it could not exist if it was operating in violation of the laws of the United States. It was about this time that he directed Attorney-General Knox to begin an investigation of the operations of some of the big trusts, and these investigations led to the proceedings which have become famous in the legal annals of the United States.

Three important trips were made by the President in the late summer and fall of 1902. One was to the New England States, and lasted from August 2d to September 3d. The President visited a number of cities in the different States, and everywhere was received in the most generous manner. It was at Pittsfield, Massachusetts, while on this journey, that he came near losing his life. While driving across the country his carriage was struck by a trolley car and overturned, killing secret service detective Craig, and seriously injuring the President, former Governor Crane of Massachusetts, and Secretary Cortelyou. Despite the severity of his own wounds and the seriousness of the shock, the President's first thoughts were for the secret service officer, who had been knocked from the box where he had been riding with the driver. He was very much shocked when he learned that Craig had been killed. The President was so exasperated with the motorman in charge of the electric car that he shook his fist in the direction of that individual, and told him that he ought to be severely punished. Everywhere on this journey the President made speeches which showed the variety of subjects with which he was acquainted, and the depth of his information on these subjects. The speeches were conservative, thoughtful and tactful, and went far toward establishing the President in the confidence of the people.

ATTENDS THE CONVENTION OF LOCOMOTIVE FIREMEN

Two days after the culmination of the New England trip, the President made a journey to Chattanooga, Tennessee, for the purpose of attending the biennial convention of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen. On his way to Chattanooga, the President went through West Virginia, Ohio and Kentucky, speaking at Wheeling and several points in Ohio.

At every one of these places he was received with great cordiality, and the people freely applauded his speeches. In Chattanooga the locomotive firemen received him with warmth, and the people of the city entertained him in the most hospitable manner. The firemen elected the President an honorary member of their brotherhood, and the speech he made to them won for him the lasting friendship of the members of this organization, and of all railroad organizations in the United States. The President compared the hazardous duties of the engineer, fireman, conductor and other railroad employees to those of a soldier, and said that he had often declared that there were no class of men in the world braver or more noble than railroad men, who took their lives in their hands daily, and whose courage, endurance and manhood frequently saved hundreds of lives, often at the sacrifice of their own. While in Chattanooga, the President went over the battlefields of Chattanooga, Lookout Mountain and Chickamauga, having the various points of interest pointed out to him by officers in the army posted at that station. He rode along the narrow winding road on the top of Missionary Ridge, and saw the steep heights where the Federal soldiers had rushed persistently upward and thrown the Confederates into such confusion as to cause them to flee pell-mell from their splendid positions on the crests of the mountains.

RECALLED THE DAYS OF CHICKAMAUGA

It was upon his arrival at the battlefield of Chickamauga that those with the President and the thousands that were assembled there got an exhibition of the President's splendid horsemanship. The finest troop of cavalry stationed at Chickamauga rode up to the President's carriage, and a splendid cavalry charger was put at his disposal, and he vaulted into

the saddle with the ease of the most experienced and graceful cavalryman in the country anywhere, and then he was away at a pace which unsaddled several of the troopers, caused others to lose their caps, and still others to lose their place in the ranks. The day was a hot, dusty one, and the cavalcade of horsemen, led by the President, soon stirred up a great cloud of dust, which made the old soldiers present think of the days when a regiment of cavalry was charging in their direction. The President outrode any trooper in the company, and after that there wasn't a soldier in the post who would not have given his life for the Chief Executive. No word or act could have done more to place the President in the best spot in the hearts of the soldiers than his daring ride across the dusty battlefields of Chickamauga that day.

HIS TRIP OVER THE NORTHWEST

Returning from Chattanooga, the President stopped at Knoxville and other points in Tennessee, visited Asheville, North Carolina, and made talks at other points in that State and Virginia on his way back.

Ten days after the return from this tour the President started on a five days' trip over the Northwest, visiting Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and other States. On this trip the great respect and esteem of the people were shown in their reception of his speeches and other joyous greetings.

HIS JOURNEY TO THE PACIFIC COAST

By far the most extensive journey taken by the President during his administration was to the Pacific coast. He started from Washington April 1, 1903, and returned June 5th, being gone from Washington nearly ten weeks. He not only visited practically all of the Middle Western States, but all

of the Western States and Territories, and enjoyed a world of curious experiences and the happiness of again seeing that the people loved and respected him. Part of this trip was spent in Yellowstone Park. After visiting most of the Northwestern States, the Park was reached about the middle of April. The ground in the Park was nearly all covered with snow and ice, but the President lived out in the open most of the time with the army officers stationed there and with John Burroughs, the great naturalist. Burroughs knows something of all the animals and birds in the world, and while on his daily trips with the President through Yellowstone Park he explained a great deal about the life and history of the animals abounding there. The President's health was greatly recuperated by the stay in Yellowstone Park, notwithstanding the severity of the weather and despite the fact that at times the riding horse of Mr. Roosevelt waded through snow up to his flanks. The President's arduous work of the winter had greatly depleted his energies, and the sojourn in this vicinity was unusually valuable to him.

THE GREAT WHITE FATHER

Leaving Yellowstone Park the latter part of April, the President went through the Dakotas, Nebraska, Missouri and Kansas. From St. Louis he moved westward at a fast clip. In Arizona he spent a day in the Grand Canyon, and in New Mexico he visited many places of historic interest. All through these Territories the Indians vied with the white citizens in paying respect to the President, presenting him with blankets, hides and various other trinkets. From the beginning of his administration no president has had the good will of the Indians so freely and fully as Mr. Roosevelt. They often visit him at the White House and grin with huge satisfaction

when they have shaken hands with 'the great white father." It has been the policy of the President to see that they were not swindled out of their rights and that the treaty obligations of the government with them were carried out in letter and spirit.

IN THE YOSEMITE VALLEY

Through California and the Pacific Coast States the President was met everywhere by thousands of people, who paid tribute to him and who gave testimony of their love and esteem for him. While in California the President spent several days in the Yosemite Valley, amid the giant redwood trees. In this valley, as in Yellowstone Park, the President separated from the other members of his party and completely lost himself to everybody among the great redwood trees. He kept only one person with him as an escort, and he was the most celebrated guide in that region. They spent the days and nights in the open, and ate and slept to suit themselves.

The President reached Washington about June 5th, and resumed his duties. A few days later he went to Canton, Ohio, to participate in the ceremonies commemorating the life and services of President McKinley.

MADE NO TRIPS IN 1904

During the year 1904 the President made no trips of consequence. He adopted the policy of spending his time in the White House. He took the view that it would be unwise and undignified for a president to make trips over the country in a year when his political opponents were almost sure to interpret his journeys as intended for political purposes. The President received hundreds of invitations to visit different

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THE HERO OF SAN JUAN HILL

When the news of Dewey's victory reached America, Mr. Roosevelt resigned his position as Assistant Secretary of the Navy. "There is nothing more for me to do here," he said, "I have got to get into the fight myself."

MR. ROOSEVELT AS A COWBOY

In the President's work, "Ranch Life and the Hunting Trail," the author pays the following tribute to the rough rider of the plains: "Brave, hospitable, hardy and adventurous, he is the grim pioneer of our land."

parts of the country prior to his nomination at the Chicago Convention, as well as afterwards, but uniformly declined their acceptance. The only invitation he accepted during the greater part of the year was to visit the battlefield of Gettysburg on May 30th, Decoration Day, and make a speech there. He remained in Washington until the middle of the summer, when he went to his home in Oyster Bay to spend the remainder of vacation.

CUSTOM ORIGINATED BY PRESIDENT HARRISON

President Harrison was the first of the Chief Executives to start the custom of making extensive tours through the country. During his administration he made a trip to the Pacific coast. President McKinley likewise went to the Pacific coast during his administration, and it was while there that Mrs. McKinley came near dying, lying at death's door for many days in the city of San Francisco. All of these trips are made on special trains, placed at the disposal of the presidents by the railroad companies of the country. There has frequently been criticism by radical members of Congress because of that fact, that these trips were made without expense to the presidents. It is very likely that none of these trips would have been made had the expenditures come from the pockets of the presidents. A president does not make a trip because of his own desire, but upon the invitation of the people and for their gratification. Consequently the railroads have been only too glad to place their finest trains at the disposal of the president of the United States for such journeys as he may care to make. The railroads always profit largely by such trips, as they carry thousands of passengers into the cities and towns where the president is stopping, and increase their local passenger earnings very much thereby. The trip of President

McKinley to the Pacific coast would have cost him thousands of dollars had he been compelled to meet the expenses out of his pocket. That of President Roosevelt would likewise have cost a great amount of money. In each case there were splendid trains of the finest Pullman coaches in the world.

THE PRESIDENTIAL TRAIN

The trains consisted of the President's private car, compartment and sleeping cars for members of the cabinet, newspaper men, and other persons who traveled with the President, dining and buffet cars. The train must be made up with a view to the greatest comfort to the president, whose home is practically on his car for weeks at a time. He eats and sleeps in his car, and is there most of the time. At the conclusion of the journeys the railroads share the expenses, and they are only too glad to pay the small proportion set aside to each one. The Pennsylvania Railroad has been especially courteous to the president of the United States for several years. The officials insist upon placing the finest cars and trains at the disposal of the president at all times, extending every consideration and courtesy.

President Roosevelt is a charming traveling companion, as well as a happy spokesman to the thousands of people who stand before him at the various points where he stops. He eats well and sleeps well on these trips; talks individually and heartily to all the members of his party, no matter in what station in life they may be; looks after the comfort of all of them, and at the conclusion of the journeys invariably gives liberal fees to the Pullman servants who have waited upon him.

Naturally the very best food that can be had in the world is served to the president and his guests on these journeys,

and the railroad officials vie with the citizens in making the entertainment of the Chief Executive of the very best kind.

FEELING THE PULSE OF THE PEOPLE

The President does not know of any better way to feel the pulse and ascertain the sentiments of the men and women of the United States than coming in contact with them and talking with them face to face on the issues and questions of the day. In this way he sounds the pulse of the public and keeps in close touch with the desires of the voters. He has always been of the belief that the president or any other public official should not be unmindful of what the people think, and in the next four years he will go about much among his constituents. There will be no fear of political criticism and the President can go as often as he pleases and spend as much time as his duties will permit among those who have so often desired his presence with them, and who feel that their confidence in him has not been misplaced.

CHAPTER III

THE LAUNCHING OF A MAN

Eastern Birth with Western Characteristics—Theodore Roosevelt's Ancestors—Birth—His Youth—His Family Strict Church People—As a Boy Was Robust in Spirit but Not in Body—Principal Events of His Life—His Books—Remarkable Versatility and Adaptability—An Interesting Romance—The Highest Type of an American.

Theodore Roosevelt, twenty-sixth President of the United States, was pronounced by Senator Depew, in his speech at Philadelphia that nominated Mr. Roosevelt for the vice-presidency, as "an Eastern man with Western characteristics." This description fits him perfectly.

ANCESTRY OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT

He was born in the East, but he received a training and an experience in the great rugged open and hustling West, among its hospitable and communicative people and manly men that stamps him as a man possessed of sympathies and traits that are more Western than Eastern. Theodore Roosevelt's mother was a Southern woman and a reference to his chronology indicates that he was born about three years before the great war between the South and North began.

He was descended from Claes Martenzoon Van Rosevelt, who came from Holland to the then very New World indeed, in 1649. In addition to Dutch blood, he is blended with Scotch-Irish and French Huguenot blood through other ancestors. One writer says of him:

"But though Theodore Roosevelt's name is a Holland one, he is almost in equal parts Dutch, French, Irish and Scotch. These commingled streams of blood show in his character, for, as occasion calls for it, he manifests the Dutch phlegm, the Scotch pertinacity, the French chivalry, and the true Irish wit." His father was Theodore Roosevelt of New York City, and his mother Martha Bulloch of Roswell, Georgia.

AN EXPONENT OF PRACTICAL QUALITIES

Theodore Roosevelt is an example of a type of American justifying the experiment of democratic government on a large scale. He is a man of good family and private fortune, well educated and of high character, who has devoted his abilities and energies to practical politics, and has risen steadily as a public servant by reason of his probity, intelligence, and force.

HAS STUDIED THE COUNTRY

His keen interest in his country has led him to make frequent hunting trips in the West, where he owns a ranch, and has made himself an authority on hunting; and he has studied the conditions of that civilization, and then written books concerning it. This interest in the West has extended to its history, and has produced a capital historical survey of the stirring dramatic development of the Western States; much of the material upon which the account is based being drawn first from Government archives, and involving painstaking, independent labor. Mr. Roosevelt's other writings—historical, biographical, or of the lighter essay sort—are robustly American in spirit, and enjoyable in point of style. He is a vigorous personality, whether in life or literature.

Theodore Roosevelt was born in New York City on October 27, 1858, and is the son of a successful business man and philanthropist well known and honored in that city. The son's uncle, R. B. Roosevelt, is also distinguished as politician and author.

RÉSUMÉ OF HIS LIFE

Theodore was educated at Harvard, being graduated in 1880. He at once interested himself in local politics, and became a New York State Assemblyman in 1882. In 1884 he was a member of the National Republican Convention; in 1886, a Republican candidate for mayor of New York; in 1889 he was made United States Civil Service Commissioner, serving until 1895, when he became president of the New York Board of Police Commissioners, holding this position until 1897, when he accepted the post, offered him by President McKinley, of Assistant Secretary of the Navy. When the Spanish war broke out he became colonel of the famous Rough Riders regiment which served in Cuba so gallantly. In 1900 he was nominated at the Philadelphia Convention for Vice-President, and became President on the death of President McKinley, Sept. 14, 1901.

ROOSEVELT AS AN AUTHOR

Mr. Roosevelt began to write books as a young man of twenty-five. His "Hunting Trips of a Ranchman" appeared in 1883. Other books, in order of their publication, are, "History of the Naval War in 1812," "The Lives of Thomas Hart Benton and of Gouverneur Morris in the 'American Statesmen Series'," "Ranch Life and the Hunting Trail," "Essays on Practical Politics," "The Winning of the West," "History of New York City," and "The Wilderness Hunter." This is a

considerable literary record for so young a writer. His papers descriptive of his hunting, camp and ranch life are very readable; but Mr. Roosevelt's most important work has been the presentation of different phases of the American historical development.

THE WINNING OF THE WEST

His studies on the Naval War and the New York municipality are done in the true spirit of scholarly investigation. Most comprehensive and valuable of all is his "The Winning of the West," in which he tells the story with admirable freshness, grasp and a sense of the drama underlying the evolution of the Western States. His taste for experience in the adventurous overcoming of material difficulties, and the rough-and-ready life of the open, have led him to select sympathetically a fine subject, which he has treated in a way to re-create the past, and make this series very acceptable for its clear, vivid sketches of pioneer conditions out of which the West has sprung.

What interests Mr. Roosevelt here, and in his biographies, is the development of American personalities and of the American idea from all manner of untoward environment.

Mr. Roosevelt, because of his stalwart independence and aggressive honesty in political life, has become a hero with those who are striving for the purification of American politics.

VIGOROUS THOUGHT AND WORTHY IDEALS

He has a strong force for good, and his books reflect the same quality of vigorous thought and worthy ideals. His sturdy Americanism is to be felt alike in his acts and words. Indeed, he may be said to have all the characteristics, in the highest and most successful degree, of the "typical American."

He is a sportsman, ranchman, author, orator, politician, soldier and statesman. He is learned, cultured, progressive and brave.

KNOWS THE COUNTRY WELL

He knows every part of this great Republic, and the conditions that exist everywhere in it. He is thoroughly acquainted with every class and condition of people who inhabit the different sections of the nation. He is equally well at home in Washington with the polished diplomat, the intriguing politician, the horny-handed laborer, the hard-working farmer, the ranchman, the miner, the mechanic, the merchant, the banker, the lawyer, or the man of leisure. His public addresses to the various classes of people in the several States indicate his versatility, his adaptability, and his thorough knowledge of the nation of which he is the Chief Executive.

One of Theodore Roosevelt's ancestors, Nicholas Roosevelt, was a member of the provincial Congress in 1775. He was also a member of the Senate in 1786, and during the same year was president of the Bank of New York. Another of his ancestors, also named Roosevelt, was a rival of the great Robert Fulton, as a steamboat inventor. The vertical paddle-wheel used on the old-fashioned steamboats originated with him.

ONE OF HIS ANCESTORS

Like our President, this Roosevelt of more than two centuries ago was an adventurous spirit and desired to see and explore his own country. The Ohio and Mississippi rivers were far into the wilderness. In this trackless and unexplored region this ancestor of Theodore Roosevelt went on an extensive surveying trip. He spent several years as a surveyor and explorer along the Ohio and Mississippi rivers; so it will be seen that Theodore Roosevelt's ancestors were among our

earliest Western pioneers. No one can very well criticise our President for emulating the example set by his worthy ancestor in identifying himself with the great West. Theodore Roosevelt, whom in our bursts of enthusiasm we call "Our Teddy," came honestly by his instinct to go out West and get broadened out.

This ancestor of two centuries and a quarter ago established a boat yard at the head of the Ohio River at Pittsburg, and built the "New Orleans," the first steamboat that ever plowed its way through this watercourse.

HIS BOYHOOD

Theodore Roosevelt was born in that old, aristocratic portion of New York known as Gramercy Park. The family residence was in East Twentieth Street, just beyond Fifth Avenue, the number being 28. Many of the people in that neighborhood remember most vividly the childhood days of "Little Teddy." One of the neighbors, in speaking of his infancy and boyhood days, has said:

"As a young boy he was thin-shanked, pale and delicate, giving little promise of the amazing vigor of his later life. To avoid the rough treatment of the public school, he was tutored at home, also attended a private school for a time—Cutler's, one of the most famous of its day. Most of his summers, and in fact two-thirds of the year, he spent at the Roosevelt farm near Oyster Bay, then almost as distant in time from New York as the Adirondacks now are.

"For many years he was slow to learn and not strong enough to join in the play of other boys; but as he grew older he saw that if he ever amounted to anything he must acquire vigor of body. With characteristic energy he set about developing himself.

"He swam, he rowed, he ran, he tramped the hills back of the Bay, for pastimes, studying and cataloguing the birds native to his neighborhood, and thus he laid the foundation of that incomparable physical vigor from which rose his future prowess as a ranchman and hunter."

HIS BROTHER ELLIOTT

President Roosevelt's father was wise enough to patronize the public schools by sending his children through them. Here they learned the American lesson of mixing with their neighbors' children and of taking the place their abilities entitled them to in the classes. There were two boys and two girls in the family. Theodore's brother Elliott was the stronger and hardier of the two. Very naturally, the brother in a large measure became the champion and guardian of young Theodore. The future President, however, was aggressive enough, and even in his boyhood days his individuality asserted itself on all occasions. He had not, however, the strength and endurance to keep pace with his brother and their companions at the games and on that leveler of all public school children, the playground.

THE TRUE AMERICAN SPIRIT

The children were given the best educational advantages to be obtained. They attended private institutions, as did most of the children whose parents were wealthy and belonged to the same set. The family lived right in an atmosphere of the old Dutch stock, which had advanced to a high premium years before Theodore was born. The spirit of his family, however, was for sterling quality, merit and high character in their children rather than an exclusiveness from those around them who happened to be less fortunate. They were intent upon preserving close and intimate relations with the world

as they found it. This is certainly the true American spirit and is reflected in our President to-day in the highest possible degree. Theodore Roosevelt is a striking illustration of what early training will do for a man.

A SYSTEMATIC CHURCH-GOER

The Roosevelts were strict church people. They belonged to the Dutch Reformed Church. All of the children were devoted to their church and attended it and worked with it with all their heart and soul. The church-going of the Roosevelts was not a mere perfunctory matter. The sermons that young Theodore listened to, because of their length, would try the patience of too many of our boys in this day. There was too masterful a hand and heart back of Theodore Roosevelt's church-going to permit or desire his escaping any of the services. Through all his busy life, Mr. Roosevelt has followed closely the habits of church-going that he formed in his childhood and boyhood days. He still retains the traditions of his ancestors in their idea regarding the Sabbath and religious services for the whole family.

OVERCAME THE IMPEDIMENT OF A DELICATE FRAME

The high straight-backed seats of his old church in New York are something of a memory to him, for new and more modern pews have taken their place. But the relation which he began with that old family church continues to this day.

The fact of Theodore's delicate physique was a matter of deep concern for his parents. He possessed the robust spirit of his ancestors and with it presented a more volatile quality than is usually found in the Hollander with his phlegmatic temperament. Young Theodore had the energy and ambition, but did not possess the physical force to back up his

desires and his purposes. His lack of muscular powers caused him to suffer throughout his boyhood days, in comparison with his schoolmates and companions.

With the will power that has carried him over so many obstacles, Theodore resolved to overcome his impediment of a delicate frame. He turned his effort and time to developing the strength which Nature had denied him and which he so much desired. He went about this task systematically. He was out of doors in the open air continually. He exercised by means of walking and horseback riding, and other physical exercises. We have in this robust man to-day an example of what determination and a systematic course of physical culture will do for a delicate young person.

At school Theodore Roosevelt was from the first a good student and a model scholar. We have read of many great men who were dullards at school. It is recorded that General Grant, who graduated in the class of '44, was almost at its foot, and that Walter Scott, the great novelist, was most stupid at school. Neither could apply himself to a book. They developed great talent, however, later in life. They began to be great men at about the age that Theodore Roosevelt was when he entered the White House as the nation's Chief Executive. Theodore Roosevelt, however, was a bookworm from his earliest days, and his devotion to study was inspiring for his fellow students.

A LOVE STORY

An interesting romance is told of Theodore's early life. He became acquainted with Edith Carow, a girl of his own age. She was a fellow student at school and belonged to his same social set. A most charming romance continued between the two from the time they were mere children until he

entered upon college life at Harvard. They had been constantly together during their earlier school days, and in those old days they had spent many hours together over their games in Union Park. Her home was in Fourteenth Street, very near Union Square. This was in a very aristocratic part of the city in those days, a strictly residential district, and the great business blocks that now surround Union Square had not begun to appear in that day.

Young Theodore and Edith met at the same birthday parties and went over their lessons together in the same school. This was sufficient reason for their intimacy. Later, Edith was placed in a fashionable boarding school. Miss Comstock's School, where Edith attended, had on its rolls many young ladies at that time who were great friends of Edith's, and to this day vividly recall her romance with young Theodore. It is unnecessary to say that they all enjoy relating it.

Edith's father was a business man, and her mother was, by birth, Miss Gertrude Tyler of Connecticut. Her father was General Tyler. Her family was one of wealth and social position. Theodore occupied a similar position in society, and his father was a lawyer and judge and had been in turn an alderman, a member of the Legislature at Albany, and a representative in Congress.

SHE LIKED TEDDY ROOSEVELT

Edith Kermit Carow has said, in the happy, established days since her marriage, that she had "liked Teddy Roosevelt in those distant times because he could do so much more than she could." And yet he was a delicate stripling of a boy, while she was possessed of all the vigor of a healthy girlhood. But Theodore Roosevelt had strong will power, determination, independence and sincerity, and this was enough for Edith.

Theodore's brother testifies to the fact that Theodore never permitted himself nor Edith to be imposed upon. He was ready to champion her cause at all times, and this meant everything to Edith. Later in life Theodore discovered more than a friend of his childhood days in the girl companion of his leisure hours. He had found one who sympathized with him and his work. Moreover, she had faith in him and encouraged him. When mature years came, after sorrow had visited him, he found in her the one to share his home, to increase his fortune, and to exalt and make sacred his success

LAYING THE FOUNDATION

Theodore, after a thorough preparation, entered Harvard University, determined to take the full college course. Here he spent four years. He proved at Harvard that he was well equipped for the work before him. He had taken the greatest delight in history and civil government as studies. Mathematics was something of a task, but he had made himself master of his inclinations and desires. This explains why he could apply himself to mathematics with success. He was imaginative, and mathematics in any of the branches never was attractive to an imaginative man. He loved books of adventure. He was thoroughly familiar with the story of his own country. He also was well informed regarding modern Europe. He had been an incessant reader and student of history. This was easy for him, but he made up his mind to devote himself to studies less attraetive for him. He realized that this was necessary to give him a well-rounded and perfectly-balanced education. The mental training he secured in following out his determination must be in large part responsible for the close-knit intellectual fiber which his manhood has revealed. It was the substantial structure upon which his

later fancy could build, just as his acquired physical strength formed a magazine from which his tireless energy might draw without fear of exhausting it.

During the last McKinley campaign it was said that "Theodore Roosevelt was born with a gold spoon in his mouth." But the charge is unfair. He was an ordinary boy as to mental attainments, and considerably under the average in physical strength. Whatever success has come to him is his from an inherent will that would not brook defeat in any line, rather than from peculiar advantages which he inherited.

He was born with many social advantages and with wealth. But these have failed to bring success to thousands of men. We ourselves can cite instances where wealth and social position have more often been a stumbling-block to young men rather than a help in gaining for them success and position. Certainly Theodore Roosevelt is one of the most striking examples in America of a young man who has advanced simply because of his own merit.

He is a type of American manhood that we are all proud of.

CHAPTER IV

THE HOME OF THE PRESIDENT

The President's Wife and Family—Mrs. Roosevelt a Domestic Woman—Receives Many Visitors—The White House Office—How the Business is Conducted—The President's Official Household—A Visit from Carrie Nation—Shaking Hands with Three Thousand People in One Day—Marvelous Knowledge of Foreign Countries—The Army and Navy—The White House Residence—Social Customs—New Year's Day.

Edith Kermit Roosevelt, wife of President Roosevelt, was born in Norwich, Conn., on Aug. 6, 1861, and is about three years younger than the President. She is the daughter of Charles and Gertrude Elizabeth Tyler Carow; granddaughter of Isaac and Eliza Mowatt Carow, and of Daniel and Emily Lee Tyler, and a descendant of Isaac Quereau and Judith Quentin (Huguenots), who emigrated from France after the revocation of the edict of Nantes, first to Holland and then to New York City, and of Job Tyler and Mary, his wife, who emigrated from Shropshire, England, were admitted to the town of Newport, Rhode Island, 1638 (Colonial Records, Vol. I, page 92), and settled in Andover, Mass., 1639. She was educated in New York City, and was married Dec. 2, 1886, to Theodore Roosevelt.

THE PRESIDENT'S FAMILY

The children of the President and Mrs. Roosevelt are: Theodore, Jr., born Sept. 13, 1887; Kermit, born Oct. 10, 1889; Ethel Carow, born Aug. 10, 1891; Archibald Bulloch, born

HUNTING THE COUGAR

President Roosevelt is extremely fond of the chase and to quote his own words: "No one but he who has partaken thereof can understand the keen delight of hunting in lonely lands. For him is the joy of the horse well ridden and the rifle well held, for him the long day of toil and hardship, resolutely endured and crowned in the end with triumph."

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PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT AND HIS SONS

The above picture shows President Roosevelt and his four sons, Theodore, Archibald, Quentin and Kermit, sitting in order named, reading from left to right.

April 9, 1894, and Quentin, born Nov. 19, 1897. Alice Roosevelt is the daughter of the President's first wife.

All of the President's children attended school at the Little Cove school at Oyster Bay. It is the village public school, and is presided over by Miss Provost. Miss Provost has been at the head of the Little Cove public school at the President's home town for many years, and she enjoys the distinction of having been the teacher of the President's children, with the exception of the two younger, in their primary studies. The two youngest children have been attending the public school in Washington; for the President has lived there since they reached the school age. As a matter of fact, when Mr. Roosevelt came to Washington as President, all the children went into the Force School, one of the leading public schools of the national capital. So it will be seen that the public schools of the country are considered good enough by the President of the United States and his wife for their children to attend. After becoming pretty well advanced in the public schools, the President's two oldest sons entered a private school at Groton, Massachusetts, to finish their preparation for college. Miss Ethel, after attending the public school for a time, entered the Cathedral School in Washington for girls. It is an Episcopal school.

A TRUE HOUSEWIFE

Mrs. Roosevelt is very domestic in her tastes. If the housewives of the land could see Mrs. Roosevelt around her home, which is now the White House, she would appear to them just as any ordinary lady in her household affairs. Necessarily, in so large an establishment as the White House, she must employ a great many servants. But she superintends her own household affairs, and personally attends to the

wants of the children. She selects all the clothing for herself as well as for the children, and very often she is seen in the leading stores of Washington on shopping expeditions. She, of course, visits these establishments in her carriage. Not only does she do this, but she attends to the marketing—at least she directs it each day.

MANY SOCIAL OBLIGATIONS

With her very large family, it is necessary for Mrs. Roosevelt to spend a great deal of her time in thinking about their wants and necessities, and planning for them. She, of course, has a young woman who acts as her private secretary. It would be impossible for her to attend to both her household and her social duties without some help of this kind. She has a great many letters to answer. All kinds of women's societies throughout the country write to the first lady of the land upon all topics imaginable. Delegations of ladies, and ladies' societies are constantly visiting Washington. About the first place pilgrims to the national capital think of visiting is the White House. It is but natural that the ladies should want to see Mrs. Roosevelt.

HOW VISITORS ARE ADMITTED

Visitors are admitted to the White House residence by getting a card from the secretary at the White House office. The hours for visiting the White House residence are from one until three, daily, unless Mrs. Roosevelt is having a reception. There has been an innovation at the White House since Mr. Roosevelt became President. Up to that time, and for a short time after he succeeded President McKinley, the president's office had always been in one of the rooms in the residence proper. Other rooms were occupied by the private

secretary to the president and his assistants, and one of the large hallways was given up as waiting-rooms for visitors. In addition to this another room was given up as a visitors' reception room. Under this condition of affairs, doorkeepers, ushers, and secret service men occupied the main entrance, and stood at the various doors in that portion of the White House, on the second floor, used as the business office of the president. It can be seen that this was not a very agreeable or satisfactory arrangement. There is hardly a business man in the country who would care to have his office at his residence, and be obliged to stay there all the time. Besides, the ladies of any family might object to having the men folks around all of the time.

THE NEW WHITE HOUSE OFFICES

Now this condition is completely changed. None of the business of the President whatever is now conducted at the White House residence. In the old days, or before the improvements that were completed in the winter of 1901-02, there was a conservatory just to the west of the White House that was built in the time of President Jackson. This conservatory was the pride of Mrs. Hayes, Mrs. Cleveland, and other "first ladies" who occupied the executive mansion. It was extended, until now it is some two hundred feet long. At its end, and right at the edge of the White House grounds, directly opposite the great government building occupied by the State, War and Navy Departments, has been erected the White House office. President Roosevelt was the first President to occupy this office. The first room upon entering is the public reception room. To the immediate right, and nearest the door, is a small room with telephones and typewriters for the use of the newspaper men who go to the White House to

get the news that is published each day for the benefit of the public. The visitor to the White House will find from two to four newspaper correspondents in the White House press room at all times during the day. The next door on the right leads to where the force of clerks and messengers employed there are at work, or where they make their headquarters.

THE COLORED GUARDIAN

Immediately to the left of this entrance is seated an old colored man named Simmons, who has been the doorkeeper at the office of the private secretary to the President ever since President Grant occupied the White House. Simmons is one of the few men who do not go out with a change of administration. He stayed at his post right along during the two administrations of Grover Cleveland.

OFFICES OF THE SECRETARY

Through the door which Simmons guards is the President's secretary, Mr. William Loeb, Jr., and the President's assistant secretary, Mr. Barnes. There is a telephone on Mr. Barnes' desk, but Mr. Loeb does not have a telephone at his desk. When the White House is called up by telephone, the name of the person calling is always asked for by the clerk who attends to the telephone at the White House office. The clerk then tells Mr. Barnes that some one wishes to speak to Mr. Loeb, or have him take a message to the President. Cranks and all sorts of people are continually calling up the White House. If the person calling is favorably known, and a person of any standing, there is no trouble at all about delivering a message, the same as to any ordinary business establishment. Very often the White House is called up on the long distance telephone, from New York, Philadelphia,

Boston, Cleveland, Chicago, St. Louis, Cincinnati, Louisville, or Atlanta.

On the extreme left of the reception room, on entering the White House office, is the door leading through to the President's reception room on the right, and the cabinet room straight ahead, through the little ante-room, where Captain Loeffler, with an assistant, is stationed. The assistant stands at the door, between the public reception room and the little ante-room, where Captain Loeffler sits. It is necessary for this doorkeeper to be a very diplomatic man, for he is accosted by all the different types of humanity imaginable. Two uniformed doorkeepers stand at the outer door, and from one to three secret service men are stationed in the public reception room to scrutinize all strangers. These men are so trained and experienced that they can usually tell at a glance when a caller is a crank or a person inclined to make trouble in case they should get at the President.

VISIT FROM CARRIE NATION

When Carrie Nation came to Washington in the winter of 1904, the secret service men and the doorkeepers knew her very well, but had no idea she would create a disgraceful disturbance. It will be remembered that she got into Secretary Loeb's room. She insisted that the Secretary tell her whether or not the President smoked cigarettes and drank while on his trip to the West two years before. She said she heard that he had, and she came here to find out, and demanded to know. She became hysterical, and the Secretary was obliged to ask the secret service men to show her the way out. It will be remembered that during that afternoon she visited the gallery of the United States Senate, and created a scene by screaming out in an excited manner, in her efforts to make a speech, and

this during a session of this greatest and most dignified of all deliberative bodies. I state this to indicate how unexpectedly at times persons will visit the White House and attempt to do those things that are not permissible in a civilized country.

As a matter of fact, President Roosevelt does not drink, and is one of the most exemplary men in his personal habits who have ever occupied the White House. This is not stated because it is necessary to give the dignity of a denial to any insinuation that an excitable woman like Carrie Nation, however well-meaning she may be, could make.

SECRET SERVICE MEN ON THE WATCH

It is plain that the visitor, when entering the reception room, is well inspected before he approaches the doorkeeper at the private secretary's door immediately in front of him, or the doorkeeper on the extreme left, in the corner, which leads into the President's reception room. If the doorkeeper is a bit puzzled, Captain Loeffler approaches to discover for himself what the visitor desires. The secret service men, meanwhile, are closely watching, and if Captain Loeffler discovers that he has encountered a crank, one or more of the secret service men may become a listener, and if the visitor becomes unreasonable or boisterous the secret service men may take him or her to one side and quietly try to engage them in pleasant conversation, in order to discover just what manner of person they have to deal with.

THE PERCENTAGE OF CRANKS SMALL

Of course these cases do not come along very often. The percentage of such is very small indeed, for the number of visitors at the White House office will average hundreds each day; and while the percentage of dangerous persons and cranks

is small, the percentage of these who have become assassins in the last half century is also small. The nation suffered the loss of Lincoln, Garfield, and McKinley at the hands of assassins. In none of these cases did any one know but themselves of their desperate intentions.

President Roosevelt has shaken hands with as many as three thousand people at the White House in a single day. At the public receptions, which are held at night, four or five times each winter, he has taken the hand of as many as five thousand people several times during the social season. The daily stream of visitors who come to call upon the President always see him at the White House office. Cabinet officers, senators and congressmen always walk right in by the doorkeeper, for it is not necessary for them to send in their cards. After passing through the little ante-room where Captain Loeffler sits, there is a door on the right leading into the reception room which is between the large room of the President's private secretary and the President's own private office, with doors connecting all three rooms. Straight ahead from the ante-room entrance is the door leading into the cabinet room, where the President and the cabinet meet on Tuesdays and Fridays of each week.

CONSIDERATE OF OLD SOLDIERS

Distinguished callers, such as those mentioned above, in case the President is engaged in his private office, wait until he is ready to see them by sitting in the reception room or the cabinet room. Visitors not belonging to the official family hand their card to Captain Loeffler, who presents it to the President. The President instructs Captain Loeffler when he will be able to see the visitor. President Roosevelt is very considerate of the old soldier who drops into Washington and

simply desires to take the President by the hand and speak to him face to face. President Roosevelt has the reputation of turning no man and no woman away who desires to speak to him. He has a kindly word for every one, and any person who knows President Roosevelt knows that he is sincere. No one has ever yet charged him with insincerity. President Roosevelt can converse with the fond mother about her children, and there is no man who enjoys seeing the little ones as does the President. He can converse with equal facility with the cowboy on the plains, the mining man from Colorado, California, or the Klondike, the fisherman from Cape Cod or the Columbia River, the cotton grower from the South, the wheat grower from the Mississippi Valley, the general farmer, East or West, the mechanic, the locomotive engineer, the fireman, the conductor, the steamboat pilot or master, and steamship captain.

CALLS FROM DIPLOMATIC OFFICERS

The consular and diplomatic officers of the United States, who frequently drop in during their visits from foreign lands, are surprised at the knowledge the President possesses of each foreign country, and the relations of this nation with the powers of the world.

The ambassadors of the great European and Asiatic powers, who are stationed in Washington, are unanimous in their praise of the President and the information he has of and the humane consideration he has for the people of all climes. The army and navy officers know that they have in the President a safe and capable commander-in-chief of the armed forces of the United States. He has belonged to both the navy and the army. It is not unusual for enlisted men in the army and navy to call upon the President. He takes

them by the hand heartily, and he realizes in the most practical manner that upon them depends the real strength of the army and navy. He knows that each one of these men is a being of intelligence. No one knows as does President Roosevelt that in almost any regiment of United States soldiers can be found men who understand the practical trades to such an extent that they are all represented in each thousand men in the army. Among that number of United States soldiers may be found locomotive engineers, firemen, blacksmiths, machinists, civil engineers, telegraph operators, men who can construct telegraph lines, carpenters, brick masons, etc. There is hardly a man in the United States army who cannot read and write. This is not true of any other army in the world, to such an extent. President Roosevelt appreciates this thoroughly.

I have told you about the White House office and how the President receives there during the business day. The long extension connecting the new White House office with the White House proper, which is a continuation of the old conservatory, as stated, contains the same style of windows, to correspond with those that were made during the administration of Andrew Jackson.

CONVENIENCE OF THE EXTENSION

The President has a door leading from his office into this long extension, and by walking through the two hundred feet he is at the residence. During rainy weather he can walk through on a level with the ground floor, and be sheltered. On pleasant days he can walk on top, which is on a level with the second floor. In either case he is not exposed to the public view.

On the opposite side of the White House residence, and

extending almost to the street, on the east side of the mansion, is an extension which nearly corresponds with the one described on the west side. It will be seen that with the White House office and the two extensions on either side of the mansion, the present building covers the full width of the White House grounds.

In former days, before the improvements were made, those who attended the public receptions were obliged to enter the mansion from the front entrance. In those days lines of people, reaching far into the street, could be seen on evenings when a public reception was being held. Now the people who attend these receptions enter from the east side through the new extension, which has ample space for protecting the visitors from inclement or cold weather, as they stand in line, each waiting, as the line moves on, to shake the President's hand, and pass into the East Room, where the people linger to chat with each other.

RECEPTION ON NEW YEAR'S DAY

There is one public reception each year. This is held on New Year's Day, and has been the custom for a long time. The people of all classes form in line and each patiently waits his or her turn to shake the President by the hand. President Roosevelt is one of the most cordial hand-shakers and delightful men to meet who have ever entered public life. Every person who meets him is struck by his forceful individuality. At every public reception he has held since he has been President, he has waited patiently until the last man, woman and child in the line passed through, so that no one would be disappointed in not having the privilege of taking their President by the hand.

PUBLIC INTRODUCTION

As each person passes along the line and gets near to where the President is standing, Colonel Symons, who has been the President's aide until the present summer, would ask each person his or her name. Upon having the name pronounced, the Colonel would introduce each one to the President, who would extend his hand in the right cordial Roosevelt fashion, and give each a hearty hand-shake. It can be imagined what a task it must be to shake hands with from five to seven thousand people as they pass along. Colonel Bromwell, the President's aide, acts in this capacity during the social season of 1904-05.

THE ORDEAL OF SHAKING HANDS

Mrs. Roosevelt stands alongside the President at these public receptions After the President has shaken hands with each, he introduces each one to Mrs. Roosevelt, who stands, usually holding a large bouquet of flowers in her hand. Mrs. Roosevelt does not shake hands with the visitors, but simply bows. So much hand-shaking is a great trial to a very strong man like President Roosevelt, and it would be impossible for any woman to have the endurance to undertake the task of shaking hands with several thousand people. As it is, Mrs. Roosevelt is very often obliged to leave before the President is through with the hand-shaking.

WOMEN OF THE WHITE HOUSE

Mrs. McKinley was not strong enough to stand up at these receptions. She sat in a chair by the side of the President, and would bow to each visitor as they passed on. The wives of the cabinet officers stand along to the right of Mrs. Roosevelt. Mrs. Hay, wife of the Secretary of State, stands nearest to Mrs. Roosevelt, as the Secretary of State ranks highest

among the cabinet officers. After Mrs. Hay the ladies stand in line and bow to the visitors as they pass along, as follows: the wife of the Secretary of the Treasury, the wife of the Secretary of War, the wife of the Attorney-General, the wife of the Postmaster-General, the wife of the Secretary of the Navy, the wife of the Secretary of the Interior, the wife of the Secretary of Agriculture, and the wife of the Secretary of Commerce and Labor. In cases where a cabinet officer is a widower, as is the case with Secretary Wilson, of the Department of Agriculture, his daughter, or some other lady of the family, is entitled to the place. The visitors are not introduced to any of the cabinet ladies, but simply pass on into the East Room. The cabinet officers themselves generally stand back of the ladies.

FOUR OTHER RECEPTIONS

In addition to the public reception there are four other receptions each winter. To attend these it is necessary to have an invitation.

These invitations are sent to all the officials in Washington, their wives and daughters who are in society, as well as to resident society in the national capital according to a selected list. One of these receptions is given in honor of the Army and Navy. The other three are as follows: one in honor of the Diplomatic Corps at Washington, one in honor of the members of Congress, and another in honor of the Judiciary.

CHAPTER V

DAILY LIFE AT THE WHITE HOUSE

Visits from Societies—Mrs. Roosevelt Entertains Six Hundred Children—The President's Daily Habits—A Remarkable Memory—Official Duties—Diversions—Fond of Long Walks—Plays Tennis Well—And Enjoys Wrestling—The President's Secretary—Egg Rolling—At Oyster Bay.

Mrs. Roosevelt, having such a large family, is so busy with her household duties that it is impossible for her to give much time to receiving visitors. Necessarily, a lady in her position, must devote considerable time to society. This proves, however, to be a great tax upon her strength, as well as her time. She often receives bodies of women, like the D. A. R.'s, the Congress of Mothers, and other women's societies that frequently come to Washington. Very often, too, she receives ladies who are visiting Washington when they form a party and write making an appointment with her. She is always glad to do so, whenever it is possible. She never refuses a request of this kind if she can possibly avoid it. She receives small delegations of visitors in the Blue Room, and if the number is not too large, she invites them to sip tea with her. When societies visit her, however, she receives them in the East Room, because the Blue Room is not large enough.

A CHILDREN'S RECEPTION

Mrs. Roosevelt gave one of the most delightful receptions last winter that has ever been held at the White House. This

time her guests were the little children between six and fourteen years of age. This is one time when Mrs. Roosevelt shook hands with every one of the White House visitors. Not only that, but often she would take a little tot up and speak to it for a moment. This time the children were introduced to Mrs. Roosevelt, and the President stood at her right. Of course he could not stay away from a gathering where there were to be so many children. He is in his element when the "little ones" are around.

There were about six hundred children at this reception, which was given on the day after Christmas, and lasted from 2 o'clock until 4:30. There was a musical programme, and refreshments in the shape of sweets and ice-cream at the close. Both the President and Mrs. Roosevelt pronounced this the most enjoyable and happy reception they had ever given.

NO SOCIAL JEALOUSIES

There were no jealousies at this reception. There were no newspaper stories about the army officers being angry because the navy officers went ahead of them, or vice versa. There was no trouble because the Supreme Court judges and their wives felt that they should have taken precedence. The President nearly always has some such unpleasant incident arise at his receptions. He cannot arrange all the details. That is left in other hands, but when some one is slighted and makes a noise about it, it of course is embarrassing to the President.

Mrs. Roosevelt knew that she would have no trouble of this kind at the children's reception. She could feel perfectly at ease with them. It is when people grow to mature years and become selfish that they make trouble. Of course, there

are certain social forms and usages to be observed. Sometimes it is proper to insist upon having these customs recognized in the proper manner. But, generally speaking, we are apt to allow our selfishness to crop out after we have passed beyond the years of our childhood days.

AN ACCOMPLISHED LINGUIST

Mrs. Roosevelt speaks French and Italian very well. Her sister, Miss Emily Carow, lives in Italy. Mrs. Roosevelt has visited with her in that country, and took occasion to make a special study of the two languages most spoken in Italy. The President himself speaks German almost as well as he does English.

The President is a member of the Dutch Reformed Church, and Mrs. Roosevelt is an Episcopalian. They usually attend church together, sometimes going to the Dutch Reformed Church, and at other times to the Episcopal service.

THE PRESIDENT SHAVES HIMSELF

President Roosevelt retires between eleven and twelve o'clock at night. He arises at seven every morning. There is a White House barber who sometimes shaves the President. Usually, however, the President shaves himself. As his own barber, he is something of an expert. He has been in the far West so much, living as a ranchman and a hunter, that it has been impossible for him to have the services of a barber at all times. He became so accustomed to shaving himself that he prefers to do so now, from force of habit. Notwithstanding this, a barber is employed at the White House constantly. In addition to serving as a tonsorial artist for the President and his boys, whenever needed, he acts as a messenger.

The President sits down to breakfast at 8:30, and by 9:15

he is usually in his office, and immediately takes up the morning mail with Secretary Loeb. The first thing he does is to append his name to the documents awaiting his signature. After that begins the receiving of visitors with whom appointments have been made. About twelve o'clock he shakes hands with the general public, and the White House office and grounds are often crowded with people waiting for the opportunity to simply glance at the President as they pass along at the entrance to his office, when he extends to each his hand.

SELDOM FORGETS A NAME

Sometimes when there is a limping old soldier, with a G. A. R. badge, the President holds his hand and says a few words to him. He may ask what his regiment was, and otherwise take a deep interest in him. President Roosevelt has a remarkable memory, and seldom forgets a name when he once hears it. It is thought that he is fully as remarkable in this respect as was President McKinley.

OFFICIAL AND SOCIAL DUTIES

At 1:30 in the afternoon the President goes to luncheon with the family. Often visitors of distinction are invited to lunch with him. Here he has an opportunity to discuss at length important matters he may have in hand with leading men. Visitors to luncheon are always introduced to the members of the President's family, and while they are at the table the conversation becomes general.

By 2:30 the President is usually back in the office. At that hour appointments have been made for receiving calls from the foreign ambassadors and ministers. Those with credentials as newly accredited representatives to this government, or those who are about to take formal leave, and return to their

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THE PRESIDENT RIDING ACROSS COUNTRY

President Roosevelt is an enthusiastic horseman. He is never so happy as when, astride his favorite animal, he sets off for a long ride. He is absolutely fearless in the saddle and does not hesitate to take the highest of rail fences.

From Stereograph, copyright by Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.

READY FOR A RIDE

The above photograph was taken at Oyster Bay. The President makes a splendid figure on horseback and handles himself so well in the saddle that every trooper in the United States cavalry swears by him

From Stereograph, copyright by Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.

THE PRESIDENT'S FAVORITE EXERCISE

home government, call. Other distinguished foreigners are also received at this time. These are always received in the Blue Room at the White House residence.

After these official duties are dispensed with, the President greets large bodies of visitors who are in Washington. The most notable instances during the year 1904 were the receptions given the Knights of Columbus, the United German Societies, the D. A. R.'s, the Colonial Dames; and the G. A. R.'s during their encampment in the fall of 1902. By three o'clock the President is back in the office again, and takes up with his secretary the mail that has accumulated during the day. He signs various state papers, all army and navy commissions, the commissions of every postmaster in the land, commissions of treasury officials, consular and diplomatic officers, all department of justice appointments, such as United States judges and United States attorneys, marshals, etc., all pardons, all proclamations affecting the opening of government lands, forest reserves, etc., as well as all Indian leases. All bills and resolutions of Congress are also signed by the President.

FOND OF HORSEBACK RIDING

He usually works until 6 p. m., but when he can get away he mounts his horse and is away for a gallop through the outlying country around Washington, or over across the hills of Virginia. Often he is accompanied by Mrs. Roosevelt, or some of the children. They are all fond of horseback riding. The two eldest boys and Ethel, when they are at home from school, nearly always accompany their father on these horseback journeys for health and diversion. Occasionally, Miss Alice accompanies her father on these horseback jaunts. Miss Alice is also something of an expert as a horseback rider.

Sometimes the President takes a long walk, accompanied by one or more friends. He has a tennis court, and is very fond of that sport. He enjoys single-stick practice or wrestling. During the winter he employs a professional wrestler, and the two struggle long and desperately for supremacy in this violent physical exercise. Of course the President employs the professional to give him lessons for the healthful benefit he derives from the exercise. During the winter and spring of 1904 he employed an expert Japanese wrestler.

The President dines at 8 p. m. This is the one meal he eats leisurely, for he takes a full hour at the dinner table. The Roosevelts are liberal entertainers, and always have a number of guests at the White House.

AN INVETERATE READER

After dinner the President spends the evening reading, or entertaining friends. He is a great reader, and has so trained himself that he can read with profit. He reads books and magazines after he has informed himself through the daily newspapers of the current events. After he has spent an hour or two in general reading, he spends the balance of the time before retiring in dictating important state papers in the quiet of his library. It is here that he writes his messages and other papers incident to this highest official position in the world.

BUSINESS ORGANIZATION OF THE WHITE HOUSE

The White House is run on a systematic and businesslike basis. At the head of the business organization is Mr. William Loeb, Jr., the President's secretary. Mr. Loeb became secretary to President Roosevelt on January 1, 1899, when Mr. Roosevelt's term as Governor of New York State began. After Mr. Roosevelt was elected to the Vice-Presidency, Mr.

Loeb came to Washington as his private secretary. After the death of President McKinley, Hon. George B. Cortelyou, who was President McKinley's private secretary, continued for a time as private secretary to President Roosevelt. Upon the appointment of Mr. Cortelyou as Secretary of the Department of Commerce and Labor, in which office he began to serve in the early spring of 1903, Mr. Loeb was advanced to the first secretaryship. Mr. Loeb had been assistant secretary to President Roosevelt under Mr. Cortelyou. When Mr. Cortelyou was advanced to the new cabinet position named above, Mr. Loeb naturally became his successor as the secretary to the President. Benjamin F. Barnes, who had been one of the assistant secretaries, then became assistant secretary to the President under Mr. Loeb.

GENERALLY ACCOMPANIED BY SECRETARY LOEB

Wherever the President goes, as a rule, his secretary, Mr. Loeb, accompanies him. When the President moves to Oyster Bay for his summer vacation, Mr. Loeb and Mr. Barnes, as well as a number of the White House force of clerks, accompany him. At Oyster Bay village they have an office where the secretaries and clerks make their headquarters for conducting the President's official business. Sagamore Hill, the President's summer home, is about a two-mile drive from the village. A telephone connects the office and the residence. Large numbers of visitors go to Oyster Bay during the vacation to see the President. Some of the visitors have arranged by appointment, before starting for Oyster Bay, to see the President. Those who have appointments, as well as cabinet officers, drive from the railway station to the office, when their names are telephoned to the residence. The President's secretary knows whether the individual seeking to

see the President has an appointment with him or not. If the individual has an appointment, his arrival is announced by telephone. The secret service men, who are stationed at the entrance to the residence, are always informed when callers have an engagement and are entitled to approach the residence.

Those who go to Oyster Bay expecting to see the President without an engagement may be detained there for some time, or meet with disappointment. The President goes to his country home for recreation and rest. He sees everybody, however, when he possibly can. It is assumed that people will be considerate of the President's well-being, and not annoy him by frequent visits, unless they have very important business. It should be considered that this is the only opportunity the President has for rest.

NOT ALLOWED TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY

The President of the United States is the only citizen of the Republic who is prohibited from leaving our shores and visiting a foreign land, while he is President. There is not a free American citizen in this country who is not privileged to leave this country at any time he chooses, except the President of the United States.

EASTER EGG ROLLING

The Easter egg rolling on the White House grounds on the Monday following each Easter Sunday is a unique affair. The custom of inviting the children of Washington to the White House grounds once a year originated many years ago, and no president and his wife have given serious consideration to putting a stop to the custom. President and Mrs. Roosevelt take a special delight in this annual festival for the small

children of Washington. The event is somewhat under the patronage of the President and his wife, and nothing is more pleasing to the thousands of children who visit the grounds than to have the President and his wife appear on the back portico of the executive mansion to view and greet the assemblage. It is always by order of the President, too, that the marine band, the greatest musical organization in the army and navy of the United States, goes to the White House grounds and plays for the delectation of the youngsters who are assembled.

All of the grounds south of the White House enclosed with an iron fence are open to the children of the city for the egg rolling festivities. The children begin to assemble early in the morning, taking with them baskets of varied colored eggs; by three o'clock in the afternoon the immense, beautiful grounds are alive with children varying in size from the three-year-old tot up to eighteen years, all of them engaged in rolling and tossing eggs. The game is to determine whose eggs are the strongest and will withstand the most rolling and tossing. The children whose eggs have the weakest shells come out losers, of course. The game itself, however, is unimportant outside of the plays and romping and other games indulged in.

FINDING AND RESTORING LOST CHILDREN

Small children are accompanied by their mothers or nurses, and the crowd becomes so great at times that the little ones get separated from the older persons with them, and the Washington police have a busy job finding and restoring the lost juveniles. Sometimes the police find as many as twenty little ones separated from their mothers and nurses, who are wailing bitterly over their predicament, but it does not take

the police long to restore them to those from whom they have become separated. The greatest annoyance the police have to contend with on these occasions are the little ragamuffins, alley urchins of Washington, known as "egg snatchers"; sometimes thirty or forty of them will organize especially for egg rolling, and they will snatch eggs from the children and disappear with hundreds of dozens of eggs. During the day following an Easter egg rolling not many years ago the Emergency Hospital treated twenty boys suffering from extreme cramps and colic caused from overeating hard-boiled eggs. Not only do the little egg snatchers, mostly colored boys from the slums of the city, consume many eggs themselves, but they carry hundreds home to their families. As far as possible the police keep these bad boys out of the White House grounds, but enough of them manage to get in and will snatch eggs from the unsuspecting children and pass them through to their companions on the outside of the fence.

AN EXPENSE TO THE GOVERNMENT

The government is put to considerable cost each year in restoring the grounds to a presentable condition after one of these festivals; the grounds are literally filled with broken egg shells, pieces of paper and scraps of all kinds, necessitating the employment of a large force of men to clean up the grounds and again put them in proper condition.

CHAPTER VI

LIFE IN THE WEST

Exciting Adventures — A Mistaken Ruffian — A Western Episode — The Pleasures of the Chase—Shoots His First Buffalo—Kills Two Deer at Four Hundred Yards—An Exciting Elk Hunt—Hunting Dangerous Game—Stands Off a Band of Indians—Tribute to the Rough Riders.

Mr. Roosevelt has told the story of his Western life in several exceedingly interesting volumes. Although full of exciting adventures and thrilling experiences, these captivating tales are modest to a fault. He seems to take as much delight in telling of the shots he missed as of those which reached the mark. He never boasts, and while he must have participated in many adventures on the frontier, those which might suggest any display of heroism on his part are either omitted or else lightly touched upon.

Although Mr. Roosevelt was undoubtedly looked upon as more or less of a "tenderfoot" by the indigenous Westerner with whom he was thrown into daily contact, he asserts that he was always treated with the utmost courtesy, whether on the roundup or in camp, and the few real desperadoes he met were scrupulously polite. To use his own words:

MR. ROOSEVELT MAKES GOOD

"I never was shot at maliciously but once. This was on an occasion when I had to pass the night in a little frontier hotel where the bar-room occupied the whole floor, and was, in consequence, the place where every one, drunk or sober, had to sit. My assailant was neither a cowboy nor a *bona fide* 'bad

man,' but a broad-hatted ruffian of cheap and commonplace type, who had for the moment terrorized the other men in the bar-room, these being mostly sheep herders and small grangers. The fact that I wore glasses, together with my evident desire to avoid a fight, apparently gave him the impression—a mistaken one—that I would not resent an injury."

"Beware of entrance in a quarrel; but being in, bear thyself that the opposer may beware of thee," is the precept laid down by Shakespeare. How Mr. Roosevelt bore himself on this occasion he leaves to the imagination, but an eye-witness to the encounter states that after a short but decisive tussle he took the "bad man's" gun away from him and then proceeded to give him a practical illustration of the "strenuous life," by kicking him unceremoniously from the room. To say that this act made him popular with the cowboys would be putting it mildly. To use a familiar Western expression, Mr. Roosevelt "made good."

HE DANCED DOWN THE MIDDLE

The following incident will serve to explain in a measure his popularity with his companions of the plains. In one of his books he tells of a deadly affray that took place in a town not very far distant from his ranch. It seems that a Scotchman and a Minnesota man had become involved in a dispute. Both were desperadoes, and after a bitter quarrel the former, mounted on his broncho, rode to the door of his enemy's house, "looking for trouble," but before he could open fire was promptly shot down by the American. Mr. Roosevelt, in relating the occurrence, described how, a few days later, he opened a cowboy's ball, with the wife of the victor of his contest, he himself dancing opposite the husband. "It was the

lanciers," says the narrator, "and he knew all the steps far better than I did. He could have danced a minuet very well with a little practice. The scene reminded one of the ball where Bret Harte's heroine danced down the middle with the man who shot Sandy Magee."

THE DELIGHTS OF THE CHASE

Mr. Roosevelt devoted much of his time to hunting among the mountains and on the plains, both as a pastime and to procure hides, meat, and robes for use on the ranch; and it was his good luck to kill all the various kinds of large game that can properly be considered as belonging to temperate North America. What a stirring description of the delights of the chase, which he calls the best of all national pastimes, is to be found in the following, taken from his book, "The Wilderness Hunter":

"No one but he who has partaken thereof can understand the keen delight of hunting in lonely lands. For his is the joy of the horse well ridden and the rifle well held; for him the long days of toil and hardship, resolutely endured, and crowned at the end with triumph. In after years prairies shimmering in the bright sun; of vast snow-clad wastes lying desolate under gray skies; of the melancholy marshes; of the rush of mighty rivers; of the breath of ice-armored pines at the touch of the winds of winter; of cataracts roaring between hoary mountain masses; of all the innumerable sights and sounds of the wilderness; of its immensity and mystery; and of the silences that brood in its still depths."

A BUFFALO HUNT

On one of his first hunting trips, some twenty years ago, Mr. Roosevelt decided to go on a buffalo hunt. Leaving

camp early in the morning, he set out with one companion across a tract of the Bad Lands, and late in the afternoon came across three male buffalo. After picketing their ponies, the two men began to creep on hands and knees toward the animals, and at length succeeded in getting within shooting distance. This was the first time Mr. Roosevelt had ever shot at a buffalo and, deceived by the size and shape of the animal, he made the mistake of aiming too far back, with the result that, although he hit the beast, he only succeeded in wounding him, and to his chagrin the three animals disappeared in a cloud of dust. Mounting their horses, they dashed after the fleeing buffalo, and for several miles rode at a rapid gait and soon had the satisfaction of seeing the three stop and begin to graze. As the two men galloped toward them they again dashed away. The ponies they had been riding were completely jaded, but they finally succeeded in getting within a few yards of the wounded buffalo. Meanwhile the moon had risen, and, what with the uncertain light and the rough ground over which they were riding, it was almost impossible to get a good shot. Nevertheless, the future President of the United States fired, and, to his disappointment, missed. He not only missed, but, to his surprise, the infuriated animal, with a loud bellow, charged him with lowered horns. His pony bolted and the rifle was knocked against his forehead, cutting a terrible gash. The buffalo then turned his attention to Mr. Roosevelt's companion, who made off on his tired horse, shooting at the pursuing animal as he went. None of the shots produced any effect, however, and, wearying of the sport, the buffalo disappeared in the darkness and they saw him no more.

Several days later he was more successful. Shortly after

noon, as the two hunters were entering a ravine, their ponies suddenly threw up their heads and sniffed the air.

KILLS A BISON

"Feeling sure that they had smelt some wild beast," says the hero of the adventure, "I slipped off my pony and ran quickly, but cautiously, up along the valley. Before I had gone a hundred yards I noticed in the soft soil, at the bottom, the round prints of a bison's hoofs; and immediately afterwards got a glimpse of the animal himself, as he fed slowly up the course of the ravine, some distance ahead of me. The wind was just right, and no ground could have been better for stalking. Hardly needing to bend down, I walked up behind a small sharp-crested hillock, and peeping over, there below me, not fifty yards off, was a great bison bull. He was walking along, grazing as he walked. His glossy fall coat was in fine trim, and shone in the rays of the sun; while his pride of bearing showed him to be in the lusty vigor of his prime. As I rose above the crest of the hill, he held up his head and cocked his tail in the air. Before he could go off I put the bullet in behind his shoulder. The wound was an almost immediately fatal one, yet with surprising agility for so large and heavy an animal, he bounded up the opposite side of the ravine, heedless of two more balls, both of which went into his flank and ranged forwards, and disappeared over the ridge at a lumbering gallop, the blood pouring from his mouth and nostrils.

"We knew he could not go far, and trotted leisurely along on his bloody trail; and in the next gully we found him stark dead, lying almost on his back, having pitched over the side when he tried to go down it."

A LONG SHOT

Upon one occasion, while sitting on his veranda, he heard a splashing sound in the river some distance away, and glancing in that direction saw three deer, which had emerged from the thicket of the trees on the opposite bank, slaking their thirst in the stream. Entering the house he picked up his rifle and, using the pillar of the porch as a rest, fired at the largest of the animals, a magnificent buck. It was a long shot, and fully 250 yards, but he brought down the deer. The best shot he ever made and, as he apologetically puts it, just such a shot as any one occasionally will make if he takes a good many chances and fires often at ranges where the odds are greatly against his hitting, was at a black-tailed deer. Coming across three of these animals, when about 200 yards distant he fired, but missed, the bullet striking low. Holding his rifle high he made a second shot, above and ahead of them, which only succeeded in turning the deer, which quickly vanished behind the shelter of a bluff. Elevating the sight of the gun to 400 yards, he waited for them to reappear, and had the satisfaction, a few minutes later, of seeing one of them standing broadside toward him. As he was about to fire, another deer appeared, and, thinking it would be a good plan to have as large a mark as possible to shoot at, he waited and when the second animal came to a stop abreast of the first, he aimed carefully and fired. The next instant, to his surprise, he observed the two deer struggling upon the ground, and, hurrying to the spot, discovered that the bullet had broken their backs. Measuring the distance from where the animals lay to the point where he had stood when firing the shot, to his wonder and delight he found that it was over 400 yards.

AN EXCITING ELK HUNT

In 1891, Mr. Roosevelt made an elk hunt in northwestern Wyoming among the Shoshone Mountains, and his description of the trip makes the reader tingle with excitement as he follows every step of the chase from the moment the call of the bull elk echoes through the woodland until the proud giant of the forest falls beneath the unerring shot of the hunter.

"It was very exciting," says Mr. Roosevelt in telling of one adventure, "as we crept toward the great bull, and the challenge sounded nearer and nearer. While we were still at some distance the pealing notes were like those of a bugle, delivered in two bars, first rising, then abruptly falling; as we drew nearer they took on a harsh, squealing sound. Each call made our veins thrill; it sounded like the cry of some huge beast of prey. At last we heard the roar of the challenge not eighty yards off. Stealing forward three or four yards, I saw the tips of the horns through a mass of dead timber and young growth, and I slipped to one side to get a clean shot. Seeing us, but not making out what we were, and full of fierce and insolent excitement, the wapiti bull stepped boldly toward us with a stately swinging gait. Then he stood motionless, facing us, barely fifty yards away, his handsome twelve-tined antlers tossed aloft; as he held his head with the lordly grace of his kind, I fired into his chest, and as he turned I raced forward and shot him in the flank; but the second bullet was not needed, for the first wound was mortal, and he fell before going fifty yards.

"The dead elk lay among the young evergreens. The huge, shapely body was set on legs that were as strong as steel rods, and yet slender, clean, and smooth; they were in color a beautiful dark brown, contrasting well with the yellow-

ish hue of the body. The neck and throat were garnished with a mane of long hair; the symmetry of the great horns set off the fine, delicate lines of the noble head."

EASY TO SHOOT STRAIGHT IF YOU ARE CLOSE

Speaking of shooting dangerous game, Mr. Roosevelt believes that steadiness is more needed than good shooting; that no game is dangerous unless a man is close up, and if a man is close it is easy enough for him to shoot straight, if he does not lose his head. In recounting several exciting episodes in connection with the hunting of grizzlies, he utters this characteristic maxim: "A bear's brain is about the size of a pint bottle, and any one can hit a pint bottle offhand at thirty or forty feet. I have had two shots at bears at close quarters, and each time I fired into the brain, the bullet going in between the eye and ear. A novice at this kind of sport will find it best and safest to keep in mind the old Norse viking's advice in reference to a long sword: 'If you go in close enough your sword will be long enough.' If a poor shot goes in close enough you will find that he shoots straight enough." Once he came into contact with far more dangerous game than grizzlies—Indians—and it was his steadiness that brought him out of the encounter unscathed—but we will let him tell the story himself.

"One morning I had been traveling along the edge of the prairie, and about noon I rode Manitou up a slight rise and came out on a plateau that was perhaps half a mile broad. When near the middle, four or five Indians suddenly came up over the edge, directly in front of me.

AN INDIAN CHARGE

"The second they saw me they whipped their guns out of their slings, started their horses into a run, and came on at full

tilt, whooping and brandishing their weapons. I instantly reined up and dismounted. The level plain where we were was of all places the one on which such an onslaught could best be met. In any broken country, or where there is much cover, a white man is at a great disadvantage if pitted against such adepts in the art of hiding as Indians; while, on the other hand, the latter will rarely rush in on a foe who, even if overpowered in the end, will probably inflict severe loss on his assailants. The fury of an Indian charge, and the whoops by which it is accompanied, often scare horses so as to stampede them; but in Manitou I had perfect trust, and the old fellow stood as steady as a rock, merely cocking his ears and looking round at the noise. I waited until the Indians were a hundred yards off, and then threw up my rifle and drew a bead on the foremost. The effect was like magic.

SCATTERED LIKE DUCKS

"The whole party scattered out as wild pigeons or teal ducks sometimes do when shot at, and doubled back on their tracks, the men bending over alongside their horses. When some distance off they halted and gathered together to consult, and after a minute one came forward alone, ostentatiously dropping his rifle and waving a blanket over his head. When he came to within fifty yards I stopped him, and he pulled out a piece of paper—all Indians, when absent from their reservations, are supposed to carry passes—and called out, 'How! Me good Indian.' I answered, 'How,' and assured him most sincerely I was very glad he was a good Indian, but I would not let him come closer; and when his companions began to draw near, I covered him with the rifle and made him move off, which he did with a sudden lapse into the most canonical Anglo-Saxon profanity. I then started to lead my horse out

to the prairie; and after hovering round a short time they rode off, while I followed suit, but in the opposite direction. It had all passed too quickly for me to have time to get frightened; but during the rest of my ride I was exceedingly uneasy, and pushed tough, speedy old Manitou along at a rapid rate, keeping well out on the level. However, I never saw the Indians again. They may not have intended any mischief beyond giving me a fright; but I did not dare to let them come to close quarters, for they would have probably taken my horse and rifle, and not impossibly my scalp as well."

THE ROUGH RIDER

But there is something more interesting in Mr. Roosevelt's books than his wonderful stories of the chase. From them the reader will obtain a correct idea of the West as it was twenty years ago and as it is to-day. In his work entitled "Ranch Life and the Hunting Trail," from which the foregoing extract is taken, one is brought face to face with the Western cattle country—the excitement and danger of "riding herd," the mysteries of the round-up, the terrors of "broncho busting," and all the interesting details that go to make up the life of a cowboy or ranchman. In one of the most interesting chapters in the book, Mr. Roosevelt pays the following tribute to the wild rough rider of the plains: "Brave, hospitable, hardy and adventurous, he is the grim pioneer of our land; he prepares the way for the civilization from before whose face he must himself disappear. Hard and dangerous though his existence, it has yet a wild attraction which plainly draws to it his bold, free spirit."

THE EXECUTIVE MANSION AT WASHINGTON

The above photograph shows the White House offices recently constructed. With the new buildings the Executive Mansion covers the full width of the grounds and presents a very imposing appearance.

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PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S ROOM IN THE NEW WHITE HOUSE

The simplicity of the President's habits of life is exemplified in the above photograph of his apartment in the Executive Mansion. The furniture, although in keeping with the surroundings of the chief of the nation, is neither luxurious nor extremely ornamental.

CHAPTER VII

ROOSEVELT THE REFORMER

Appointed a Member of the Civil Service Commission—Views on the Subject—The Merit System—The Fair Play Department—Head of the New York Police—Civic Corruption—Blackmail—An Unequal Battle—His Life Threatened—Becomes Assistant Secretary of the Navy—Military Preparedness.

After Mr. Roosevelt was defeated for the mayoralty of New York in 1886, he spent three years on his ranch in the West, and when he was not following the excitement of chase or attending to his calling as a ranchman, as told in the previous chapter, he was hard at work on some book or magazine article. It was these contributions to the literature of the day that brought his name before the American people.

In 1889, he was appointed a member of the Civil Service Commission, by President Harrison. Mr. Roosevelt threw himself into his work with his accustomed vigor and force, and if any one doubts his position on the question of civil service, let him read his essay on that subject, from which the following is an extract:

AN IMPORTANT QUESTION

"No question of internal administration is so important to the United States as the question of civil service reform, because the spoils system, which can be supplanted only through the agencies which have found expression in the act creating the Civil Service Commission, has been for seventy years the most potent of all the forces tending to bring about

the degradation of our politics. No republic can properly endure when its politics are corrupt and base; and the spoils system, the application in political life of the degrading doctrine that to the victor belong the spoils, produces corruption and degradation. The man who is in politics for the offices might just as well be in politics for the money he can get for his vote, so far as the general good is concerned. Civil service reform is not merely a movement to better the popular service. It achieves this end, too; but its main purpose is to raise the tone of public life, and it is in this direction that its effects have been of incalculable good to the whole community."

AN ADVOCATE OF THE MERIT SYSTEM

Mr. Roosevelt was an enthusiastic advocate of the merit system, and his antagonism to political grafters brought down a storm of denunciation upon his head. He absolutely declined to have anything to do with rings, and during his six years' term of service he and his associates never deviated from the plan laid out in the beginning. "Our aim," said Mr. Roosevelt at the time, "was always to procure the extension of the classified service as rapidly as possible and see that the law was administered thoroughly and fairly."

HAD MANY OPPONENTS

There were many Republican and Democratic politicians who were strongly antagonistic to the civil service act, and there were many members of Congress of both parties who opposed the commissioners at every step; but Mr. Roosevelt was undaunted, and whenever the law was evaded, the commission at once made an example of the case.

"The widest publicity was given to wrong-doing," says Mr. Roosevelt. "Often, even where we were unable to win the

actual fight in which we were engaged, the effect of our having made it and the further fact that we were ready to repeat it on provocation, has put a complete stop to the repetition of the offense. In the aggregate it is doubtful if one per cent of all the employees have been dismissed for political reasons. In other words, where, under the spoils system, a hundred men would have been turned out, under the civil service law, as administered under our supervision, ninety-nine men were kept in."

When President Cleveland in 1893 succeeded President Harrison, the former invited Mr. Roosevelt to remain in office, and for two years longer he devoted his time to proving the practical utility of civil service and the baneful effect of the spoils system.

THE FAIR PLAY DEPARTMENT

Mr. Riis, in his biography of President Roosevelt, devotes a chapter to his record on the Civil Service Commission which he calls "The Fair Play Department," in the course of which he says:

"I suppose there is scarcely one who knows anything of Theodore Roosevelt who has not got the fact of his being once a civil service commissioner fixed in his mind. That was where the country got its eye upon him; and that, likewise, was where some good people grew the notion that he was a scrapper first, last, and all the time, with but little regard for whom he tackled, so long as he had him. There was some truth in that; we shall see how much. But as to civil service reform, I have sometimes wondered how many there were who knew as little what it really meant as I did until not so very long ago. How many went about with a more or less vague notion that it was some kind of a club to knock out

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spoils politics with; good for the purpose and necessary, but in the last analysis an alien kind of growth, of aristocratic tendency, to set men apart in classes! Instead of exactly the reverse, right down on the hard-pan of the real and only democracy; every man on his merits; what he is, not what he has; what he can do, not what his pull can do for him."

APPOINTED POLICE COMMISSIONER OF NEW YORK

On May 5, 1895, Mr. Roosevelt resigned as civil service commissioner and was appointed police commissioner of New York City about a fortnight later.

In the fall of 1894 a combination between Republicans and Anti-Tammany Democrats, with the aid of so-called independents, had resulted in the overthrow of Tammany Hall. For some time public feeling had been very bitter against the city administration, owing to the corruption which permeated every department of the municipal government.

"The chief center of corruption was the police department," says Mr. Roosevelt. "No man not intimately acquainted with the lower and the humbler side of New York life—for there is a wide distinction between the two—can realize how far the corruption extended. Except in rare instances, where prominent politicians made demands which could not be refused, both promotion and appointments toward the close of Tammany rule were almost solely for money, and the prices were discussed with cynical frankness. There was a well recognized tariff of charges, ranging from two or three hundred dollars for appointment as a patrolman to twelve or fifteen thousand dollars for promotion to the position of captain. The money was reimbursed to those who paid it by an elaborate system of blackmail."

When Mr. Roosevelt accepted the police commissionership,

he knew that he had a fight on his hands. In the words of his friend and co-laborer, Mr. Riis, it was the "disclosure of the slimy depths of the system of police blackmail through the labor of Doctor Parkhurst and of the Lexow committee which brought about the political revolution out of which came reform and Roosevelt. But in Mulberry Street they were merely hailed as freaks."

"YOU ARE BUT HUMAN"

The system so far had been invincible. It had broken many men who had got in its way. "It will break you," was the greeting with which Burns, the big chief who had ruled Mulberry Street with a hard hand, but had himself bowed to the system, received Mr. Roosevelt. "You will yield; you are but human."

The answer of the new President of the Board was to close the gate of the politician to police patronage.

"We want," he said, "the civil service law applied to appointments here, not because it is the ideal way, but because it is the only way to knock the political spoilsmen out; and you have to do that to get anywhere." And the Board made the order.

Next he demanded the resignation of the chief, and forbade the annual parade for which preparations were being made. "We will parade when we need not be ashamed to show ourselves," and then he grappled with the saloons.

Mr. Roosevelt has said that in administering the affairs of the police force he felt, as might have been expected, that there was no need of genius nor need of any very unusual qualities. What was needed was exercise of the plain, ordinary virtues, of a rather commonplace type, which all good citizens should be expected to possess—common sense, common hon-

esty, courage, energy, resolution, readiness to learn and a desire to be as pleasant with everybody as was compatible with a strict performing of duty. It was these virtues that Mr. Roosevelt took with him into the unequal battle with the power of evil in the New York police force. He began by familiarizing himself with the details of police organizations and methods. He made nightly rounds over the city, either alone or accompanied by his friend Mr. Riis, and in this way detected many policemen neglecting their duty.

MULBERRY STREET DEMORALIZED

When Mr. Roosevelt commenced the dismission of officers from the force, and especially those who had flattered themselves that they had a "pull," he was denounced on every hand. "Mulberry Street," as the police headquarters in New York is called, was demoralized—the bosses panic-stricken. Mr. Roosevelt's life was even threatened, and on several occasions infernal machines were found in his desk; but Mr. Roosevelt does not know the meaning of fear, and when he has once set his hand to any work there is no turning back.

Mr. Roosevelt's campaign against the saloonkeepers was of short duration, but he achieved his point, and in June, 1895, New York had its first dry Sunday. Next he turned his attention to another violation of the State law which prohibited the selling of liquor to children, and put a stop to that nefarious practice. But if Mr. Roosevelt was quick to dismiss corrupt and disobedient policemen from the force, he also knew how to recognize merit and to reward it accordingly. To again quote from Mr. Riis, who tells the story of how the police became, from a band of blackmailers' tools, a body of heroes in a few months:

"HE CUT OUR BONDS"

"Roosevelt won. He conquered politics and he stopped law-breaking; but the biggest victory he won was over the cynicism of a people so steeped in it all that they did not dream it could be done. Tammany came back, but not to stay. And though it may come back many times yet for our sins, it will be merely like the thief who steals in to fill his pockets from the till when the storekeeper is not looking. That was what we got out of having Roosevelt on the Police Board. He could not set us free. We have got to do that ourselves. But he cut our bonds and gave us arms, if we chose to use them."

BECOMES ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF THE NAVY

In April, 1897, Mr. Roosevelt resigned from the office of Police Commissioner, to accept that of Assistant Secretary of the Navy, in President McKinley's first administration. In this office his great energy and mastery of detail contributed very largely to the successful administration of the department and were of immense value in the preparations for the war with Spain. Mr. Roosevelt came to his position thoroughly equipped for the work. He had made a study of the United States navy and was conversant, not only with the records of the officers, but with the nature of the rank and file. As a result of his knowledge and investigation the Assistant Secretary infused new life into the department, and when he resigned to take service in the Rough Riders, every ship was ready for service. Said the celebrated author of "The Making of an American":

"His industry was prodigious. He bought ships for the invasion of Cuba, and fitted them out. He recruited crews and shot away fortunes with the big guns—recklessly shouted

the critics. He knew better. His experience as a hunter had taught him that the best gun in the world was wasted on a man who did not know how to use it. The Spaniards found that out later. Roosevelt loaded up with ammunition and with coal. When at last the war broke out, Dewey found everything he needed at Hongkong where he sought it, and was able to sail across to Manila a week before they expected him there. And then we got the interest on the gun practice that had frightened the economical souls at home."

SHOT AWAY A MILLION DOLLARS

When Mr. Roosevelt became Assistant Secretary of the Navy, he asked for an appropriation of $500,000 for the purchase of ammunition; it was granted. Not long afterward he asked for $800,000, to be expended in the same way. He was asked what he had done with the other appropriation, and replied that the money had been spent for ammunition. When asked where it was, he replied that it had been used at target practice, and when he was asked what he meant to do with the ammunition bought with the $800,000 asked for, he said that it would be shot away also. He had his way.

While the army was in a state of unpreparedness, the navy was ready for war, and when Commodore Dewey was notified of the possibility of hostilities between Spain and America, he was in readiness to carry out the terms of the memorable telegram that ordered him to proceed to Manila and destroy the Spanish fleet. Thanks to the energy of the Assistant Secretary of the Navy, his ships' bunkers were full of coal, he had plenty of ammunition, his crews were drilled in every detail and his officers represented the cream of the service.

CHAPTER VIII

THE ROUGH RIDERS

Organizing the Regiment—A Composite Lot—College Athletes and Cowboys—The Officers—Orders to March—The Landing at Daiquiri—The First Skirmish—Death of Sergeant Fish and Captain Capron—The La Quassina Fight—The Baptism of Fire—San Juan Hill—The Surrender of Santiago—The Celebrated "Round Robin."

When the news of Dewey's victory reached this country, Mr. Roosevelt resigned his position as Assistant Secretary of the Navy. "There is nothing more for me to do here," he said, "I've got to get into the fight myself." And again to a friend of his, "I have been a jingo all my life, now I am going to take my own medicine." He first endeavored to get a staff appointment, but finally, when there began to be talk of a regiment of "rough riders," he felt that his opportunity had come.

ROOSEVELT IS OFFERED THE COMMAND

While Assistant Secretary of the Navy he had met Dr. Leonard Wood, and a friendship had at once sprung up between them. Dr. Wood had previously served in General Miles' campaign against the Apaches, where he had won a medal of honor for remarkable bravery. When the war broke out, they discovered a mutual desire to go to the front, and when Congress authorized the raising of three Western cavalry regiments, both expressed a desire to serve in the same command. Secretary Alger offered Roosevelt the command of one of these regiments, but he replied that while he

believed he could learn to command a regiment in a month, that this was just the very month that he could not afford to spare and that, therefore, he would be quite content to go as lieutenant-colonel if he would make his friend, Wood, colonel.

"This was satisfactory to both the President and Secretary of War," said Mr. Roosevelt, "and accordingly Wood and I were speedily commissioned as colonel and lieutenant-colonel of the First United States Volunteer Cavalry. This was the official title of the regiment, but for some reason or other, the public promptly christened us the 'Rough Riders.' At first we fought against the use of the term, but to no purpose, and when finally the generals of division and brigade began to write in formal communications about our regiment as the 'Rough Riders,' we adopted the term ourselves."

DELUGED WITH APPLICATIONS

The mustering places for the regiment were mainly New Mexico, Arizona, Oklahoma and Indian Territory, and the main difficulty encountered was not in selecting, but in rejecting men. From every section of the United States applications began to pour in, and when, finally, the roster was complete, as Mr. Riis has expressed it, "the Rough Riders were the most composite lot ever gathered under a regimental standard, but they were at the same time singularly typical of the spirit that conquered a continent in three generations, eminently American. Probably such another will never be gotten together again; in no other country on earth could it have been mustered to-day. The cowboy, the Indian trailer, the Indian himself, the packer, and the hunter who had sought and killed the grizzly in his mountain fastness, touched elbows with the New York policeman who, for love of adven-

ture, had followed his once chief to the war, with the college athlete, the football player and the oarsman, the dare-devil mountaineer of Georgia, fresh from hunting moonshiners as a revenue officer, and with the society man, the child of luxury and wealth from the East, bent upon proving that a life of ease had dulled neither his manhood nor his sense of our common citizenship."

INVARIABLY DECLINED COMMISSIONS

Harvard being Mr. Roosevelt's own college, he naturally received a great many applications from that institution, but what particularly pleased him was that not only the applicants from his Alma Mater, but also the Yale and Princeton men, invariably declined commissions. And so it came to pass that Dudley Dean, the celebrated quarterback; Wrenn and Larned, the champion tennis players; Waller, the high jumper; Garrison, Girard, Devereaux and Channing, the football players; Wadsworth, the steeple-chase rider; Joe Stevens, the polo player; Hamilton Fish, ex-captain of the Columbia crew, and others, all entered the Rough Riders and accepted the hard work and rough fare as though they had been accustomed to nothing else. There were recruits from clubs like the Somerset of Boston and the Knickerbocker of New York, and, as Mr. Roosevelt expressed it, it seemed as though every friend that he had in every State had some one acquaintance who was bound to go with the Rough Riders and for whom he had to make a place.

NOT A MAN BACKED OUT

'Before allowing them to be sworn in," says Mr. Roosevelt, "I gathered them together and explained that if they went in they must be prepared not merely to fight, but to perform

the weary, monotonous labor incident to the ordinary routine of the soldier's life; that they must be ready to face fever exactly as they were to face bullets; that they were to obey unquestioningly, and to do their duty as readily if called upon to garrison a fort as if sent to the front. I warned them that work that was merely irksome and disagreeable must be faced as readily as work that was dangerous, and that no complaint of any kind must be made; and I told them that they were entirely at liberty not to go, but that after they had once signed there could then be no backing out. Not a man of them backed out; not one of them failed to do his whole duty."

But these men formed but a small portion of the regiment, the bulk of which came from the Territories. Magnificent specimens of humanity, inured to hardship, unerring shots, ideal horsemen, accustomed to outdoor life, the freedom of the frontier and the rude discipline of the ranch or mining camp; they were difficult men to handle, save by leaders who had demonstrated their ability in that direction.

HOW THE REGIMENT WAS OFFICERED

Thus it was that the officers of the regiment were men who had either fought against the Indians, or had taken the field against the more desperate white outlaws of the plains. The captain of Troop A was Bucky O'Neill, the mayor of Prescott, Arizona; then there was Captain Llewellyn of New Mexico, one of the most celebrated peace officers of the country; Lieutenant Ballard, who broke up the notorious Black Jack gang; Captain Curry, a New Mexican sheriff, and a sprinkling of men who had been sheriffs, marshals, deputy sheriffs and deputy marshals. Three of the higher officers in the regiment had served in the regular army. One was Major

Alexander Brodie, from Arizona, who afterwards became Lieutenant-Colonel; Captain, afterwards Major, Jenkins, and the gallant Captain Allyn Capron, whom Mr. Roosevelt considered the best soldier in the regiment. But whether Easterner, Westerner, Northerner, or Southerner, officer or man, cowboy or college graduate, each "possessed in common the trait of hardihood and the thirst for adventure—they were to a man born adventurers in every sense of the word."

To Wood and Roosevelt fell the task of teaching these men the duties of a soldier and of molding them together into a uniform body of disciplined fighters, and it was owing to their patience and industry that when the time came for the regiment to sail for Cuba these raw recruits had mastered all the intricacies of foot and mounted drill and bore every appearance of regular troops.

On Sunday, May 29th, the regiment broke camp at San Antonio, which had been the recruiting station, and took the cars for Tampa. With the first three sections went Colonel Wood, Colonel Roosevelt following with the remaining four; and several days later they arrived at Tampa. Here for several days the regiment worked with great perseverance in perfecting itself in skirmish and mounted drill. On the evening of June 7th orders were received that the expedition was to start from Fort Tampa, nine miles distant, at daybreak the following morning, and if the men were not on board their transports by that time they would not be allowed to go. It was not, however, until five days later that the fleet weighed anchor and steamed to the southwest, and on the morning of June 22d landed at Daiquiri, the village having first been shelled by the smaller gunboats. The afternoon of the following day the Rough Riders received orders to march.

Just before leaving Tampa the Rough Riders had been brigaded with the First (white) and the Tenth (colored) Regular Cavalry under Brigadier-General Young, as the Second Brigade. The First Brigade consisted of the Third and Sixth (white) and the Ninth (colored) Regular Cavalry under Brigadier-General Sumner. These two brigades were under the command of General Joseph Wheeler, the celebrated Confederate leader.

ON CUBAN SOIL

After landing at Daiquiri, the Rough Riders marched about a mile inland and camped. In the meantime General Lawton, who afterwards lost his life in the Philippines, had taken the advance and established outposts, and General Wheeler, who had made a reconnoissance and located the position of the enemy, directed General Young to take the Second Brigade and push forward.

The march began about the middle of the afternoon, and about dark, after a weary tramp beneath a scorching tropical sun, the troops arrived at the town of Siboney. At sunrise the next morning, General Young, acting under General Wheeler's orders, with four troops of the Tenth and four of the First Cavalry, began the march along the valley road which led to Santiago, while Colonel Wood led the Rough Riders along a hill trail to the left, which joined the main road about four miles farther on, at a point where it went over the mountain.

THE BATTLE OF LA QUASSINA

This place, where the two trails met, was known as La Quassina, and it was at this point that the Spanish had taken up their position. The Spanish fortification consisted of breastworks flanked by block-houses, and after General Young

had arrived and made a careful examination of the Spanish position, he placed his battery in concealment about a thousand yards from the Spanish line, deployed the white regulars with the colored regulars in support, and after he had given time for Colonel Wood to arrive, opened the battle. The jungle was extremely dense, and as the Spaniards used smokeless powder, it was almost impossible to locate them, but the advance was pushed forward rapidly, and in the face of heavy firing the American troops climbed the ridges and drove the Spaniards from their intrenchments. In the meantime, Colonel Roosevelt and his Rough Riders had commenced their advance. The way lay up a very steep hill, and numbers of the men, exhausted from their march of the day before, had either dropped their bundles or fallen out of line, so that less than 500 men went into action.

MADE NO OUTCRY WHEN HIT

"We could hear the Hotchkiss guns and the reply of two Spanish guns, and the Mauser bullets were singing through the trees over our heads, making a noise like the humming of telephone wires, but exactly where they came from we could not tell," said the Colonel of the Rough Riders in describing the fight. "The Spaniards were firing high and for the most part by volleys, and their shooting was not very good. Gradually, however, they began to get the range, and occasionally one of our men would crumple up. In no case did the men make an outcry when hit, seeming to take it as a matter of course; at the outside making only such a remark as, 'Well, I got it that time.' "

Capron's troop took the lead, closely followed by Wood and Roosevelt at the head of the other three troops of the Third Squadron, and then came Brodie at the head of his

squadron. After the Spaniards had been driven from their position on the right, the firing slackened somewhat until the enemy's outposts were located near the advance guard, when a brisk skirmish ensued, with the result that the enemy disappeared through the jungle to their main line in the rear.

DEATH OF FISH AND CAPRON

"Here," says Mr. Roosevelt, "at the very outset of our active service, we suffered the loss of two as gallant men as ever wore uniforms. Sergeant Hamilton Fish, at the extreme front, while holding the point to its work and firing back where the Spanish advance guard lay, was shot and instantly killed; three of the men with him were likewise hit. Captain Capron, leading the advance guard in person, and displaying equal courage and coolness in the way that he handled them, was also struck, and died a few minutes afterwards. While I had led the troop back to the trail, I ran ahead of them, passing the dead and wounded men of L Troop.

A HAIL OF BULLETS

"When I came to the front I found the men spread out in a very thin skirmish line, advancing through comparatively open ground, each man taking advantage of what cover he could, while Wood strode about leading his horse, Brodie being close at hand. How Wood escaped being hit I do not see, and still less how his horse escaped. I had left mine at the beginning of the action, and was only regretting that I had not left my sword with it, as it kept getting between my legs as I was making my way through the jungle. Very soon after I reached the front, Brodie was hit, the bullet shattering one arm and whirling him round as he stood. Thereupon Wood directed me to take charge of the left wing in Brodie's place

EASTER EGG ROLLING ON THE WHITE HOUSE GROUNDS

President Roosevelt and his wife take special delight in the festival of egg rolling and nothing is more pleasing to the thousands of children who assemble on this occasion, than to have the Chief Executive appear on the back portico of the Executive Mansion and view and greet the assemblage.

From Stereograph, copyright by Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.

AT CHICKAMAUGA PARK

In the above picture President Roosevelt is shown standing between Grand Master Hannahan and Secretary Arnold of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen

From Stereograph, copyright by Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.

ON THE TOP OF LOOKOUT MOUNTAIN

The above picture shows President Roosevelt and party on the summit of the historic mountain made memorable by the most spectacular battle of the Civil War.

and bring it forward. A perfect hail of bullets was sweeping over us as we advanced. Once I got a glimpse of some Spaniards, apparently retreating far to the front and to our right, and we fired a couple of rounds after them. Then I became convinced, after much anxious study, that we were being fired at from some large red-tiled buildings, part of a ranch on our front. Smokeless powder and a thin cover in our front continued to puzzle us, and I more than once consulted anxiously the officers as to the exact whereabouts of our opponents. I took a rifle from a wounded man and began to try shooting with it myself. It was very hot and the men were getting exhausted, though at this particular time we were not suffering heavily from bullets, the Spaniards' fire going too high.

EMPTY CARTRIDGE SHELLS AND TWO DEAD SPANIARDS

"As we advanced the cover became a little thicker and I lost sight of the main body under Wood; soon I halted and we fired industriously at the ranch buildings ahead of us, some 500 yards off. Then we heard repeating rifles on the right, and I supposed that this meant a battle on the part of Wood's men, so I sprang up and ordered the men to rush the buildings ahead of us; they came forward with a will. There was a moment of heavy firing from the Spaniards, which all went over our heads, and then ceased entirely. When we arrived at the buildings, panting and out of breath, they contained nothing but heaps of empty cartridge shells and two Spaniards shot through the head."

THE KILLED AND WOUNDED

The Rough Riders lost eight men killed and thirty-four wounded in the last La Quassina fight. The First Cavalry lost seven men killed and eight wounded. The Tenth Cav-

alry, one man killed and ten wounded. After the charge the regiment moved on a few miles and went into camp. The same day General Young was attacked by a fever and General Wood took charge of the brigade; this left Colonel Roosevelt in charge of the regiment. On June 30th, the Rough Riders received orders to march against Santiago, and at once struck camp and, led by the First and Tenth Cavalry, began to move toward the Spanish city. After marching until about eight o'clock Colonel Roosevelt's men went into camp on El Paso Hill. No orders had been given except to the effect that the infantry under General Lawton was to capture El Caney, while Colonel Roosevelt's force was merely to make a diversion mainly with the artillery. Finding that his force was directly in line of the Spanish fire, which was made very evident by shells which began to burst in their midst, General Wood formed his brigade and, with the Rough Riders in front, ordered Colonel Roosevelt to follow behind the First Brigade, which was just then moving off the ground. Colonel Roosevelt was then ordered to cross the ford of the San Juan River, march half a mile to the right and then halt and await further orders. Meantime the battle was on and the Spaniards on the hills were firing in volleys.

THE SPANIARDS' FIRE PRACTICALLY UNAIMED

Colonel Roosevelt says that while his troops were lying in reserve they suffered nearly as much as afterwards when they charged. In his opinion the bulk of the Spaniards' fire was practically unaimed, or at least not aimed at any particular man, and only occasionally at a particular body of men; but they swept the whole field of battle up to the edge of the river, and man after man in his ranks fell dead or wounded, although he had his troops scattered far about, taking advan-

tage of every scrap of cover. Finally Colonel Roosevelt received orders to move forward and support the regulars in the assault on the hills in front.

HIS CROWDED HOUR BEGAN

"The instant I received the order," says Colonel Roosevelt, "I sprang on my horse and then my crowded hour began. Guerrillas had been shooting at us from the hedges and from their perches in the leafy trees, and as they used smokeless powder it was almost impossible to see them, though a few of my men had from time to time responded. They had also moved from the hill on the right, which was held chiefly by guerrillas, although there were also some Spanish regulars with them, for we found them dead. I formed my men in columns of troops, each troop extended in open skirmishing order, the right resting on the wire fences which bore on the sunken land. The Ninth and First Regiments went up Kettle Hill with the Rough Riders, and General Sumner giving the Tenth the order to charge, the Third Regiment went forward, keeping up a heavy fire."

Colonel Roosevelt then addressed the captain in command of the rear platoon, saying that he had been ordered to support the regulars in the attack upon the hills, and that in his judgment they could not take these hills by firing on them; that they must rush them. The officer answered that his orders were to keep his men lying where they were and that he could not charge without orders. He asked where the Colonel was, and as he was not in sight, Colonel Roosevelt said: "I am the ranking officer here, and I give the order to charge," for he did not want to keep the men longer in the open, suffering under a fire that they could not return. The officer again hesitated, but Colonel Roosevelt rode on through

the lines, followed by his Rough Riders. This proved too much for the regulars, and they followed after.

GAVE THE ORDER TO CHARGE

When the Rough Riders came to where the head of the left wing of the Ninth was lying, Colonel Roosevelt gave the order to charge the hill on his right front, and the line, tired of waiting, obeyed the command with alacrity at once. Immediately after the hill was covered by American troops, consisting of Rough Riders and the colored troops of the Ninth, together with some men of the First; but no sooner had they captured the position than the Spaniards opened a heavy fire upon them with rifles, while several pieces of artillery threw shells with considerable effect into their midst. From this vantage ground Colonel Roosevelt could observe the charge on the San Juan block-house on his left, and he decided to gather his men together and start them volley-firing against the Spaniards in the block-house and in the trenches around it.

"The infantry got nearer and nearer the crest of the hill," says Mr. Roosevelt, in his account of the battle. "At last we could see the Spaniards running from the rifle-pits as the Americans came on in their final rush. Then I stopped my men for fear they should injure their comrades, and called to them to charge the next line of trenches, on the hills in our front, from which we had been undergoing a good deal of punishment. Thinking that the men would all come, I jumped over the wire fence in front of us and started at the double; but, as a matter of fact, the troopers were so excited, what with shooting and being shot, and shouting and cheering, that they did not hear, or did not heed me; and after run-

ning about a hundred yards I found I had only five men along with me.

A MISUNDERSTOOD ORDER

"Bullets were ripping the grass all around us, and one of the men, Clay Green, was mortally wounded; another, Winslow Clark, a Harvard man, was shot first in the leg and then through the body. He made not the slightest murmur, only asking me to put his water canteen where he could get at it, which I did; he ultimately recovered. There was no use going on with the remaining three men, and I bade them stay where they were while I went back and brought up the rest of the brigade. This was a decidedly cool request, for there was really no possible point in letting them stay there while I went back; but at the moment it seemed perfectly natural to me, and apparently so to them, for they cheerfully nodded, and sat down in the grass, firing back at the line of trenches from which the Spaniards were shooting at them.

"LEAD ON, WE'LL FOLLOW YOU"

"Meanwhile, I ran back, jumped over the wire fence, and went over the crest of the hill, filled with anger against the troopers, and especially those of my own regiment, for not having accompanied me. They, of course, were quite innocent of wrong-doing, and even while I taunted them bitterly for not having followed me, it was all I could do not to smile at the look of inquiry and surprise that came over their faces, while they cried out, 'We didn't hear you, we didn't see you go, Colonel; lead on now, we'll sure follow you.' I wanted the other regiments to come, too, so I ran down to where General Sumner was and asked him if I might make the charge; and he told me to go and that he would see that the men followed.

"By this time everybody had his attention attracted, and when I leaped over the fence again, with Major Jenkins beside me, the men of the various regiments which were already on the hill came with a rush, and we started across the wide valley which lay between us and the Spanish intrenchments. Captain Dimmick, now in command of the Ninth, was bringing it forward; Captain McBlain had a number of Rough Riders mixed in with his troop, and led them all together; Captain Taylor had been severely wounded. The long-legged men like Greenway, Goodrich, sharpshooter Proffit, and others, outstripped the rest of us, as we had a considerable distance to go. Long before we got near them the Spaniards ran, save a few here and there, who either surrendered or were shot down. When we reached the trenches we found them filled with dead bodies in the light blue and white uniform of the Spanish regular army. There were very few wounded. Most of the fallen had little holes in their heads, from which their brains were oozing; for they were covered from the neck down by the trenches.

KILLS A SPANIARD

"It was at this place that Major Wessels, of the Third Cavalry, was shot in the back of the head. It was a severe wound, but after having it bound up he again came to the front in command of his regiment. Among the men who were foremost was Lieutenant Milton E. Davis of the First Cavalry. He had been joined by three men of the Seventy-first New York, who ran up, and saluting, said, 'Lieutenant, we want to go with you, our officers won't lead us.' One of the brave fellows was soon afterwards shot in the face. Lieutenant Davis's first sergeant, Clarence Gould, killed a Spanish

soldier with his revolver, just as the Spaniard was aiming at one of my Rough Riders.

"At about the same time I also shot one. I was with Henry Bardshar, running up at the double, and two Spaniards leaped from the trenches and fired at us, not ten yards away. As they turned to run I closed in and fired twice, missing the first and killing the second. My revolver was from the sunken battleship Maine, and had been given me by my brother-in-law, Captain W. S. Cowles, of the Navy. At the time I did not know of Gould's exploit, and supposed my feat to be unique; and although Gould had killed his Spaniard in the trenches, not very far from me, I never learned of it until weeks after. It is astonishing what a limited area of vision and experience one has in the hurly-burly of a battle.

BLACK AND WHITE SOLDIERS MIXED

"There was very great confusion at this time, the different regiments being completely intermingled—white regulars, colored regulars, and Rough Riders. General Sumner had kept a considerable force in reserve on Kettle Hill, under Major Jackson, of the Third Cavalry. We were still under a heavy fire, and I got together a mixed lot of men and pushed on from the trenches and ranch-houses which we had just taken, driving the Spaniards through a line of palm trees and over the crests of a chain of hills.

OVERLOOKED SANTIAGO

"When we reached these crests we found ourselves overlooking Santiago. Some of the men, including Jenkins, Greenway, and Goodrich, pushed on almost by themselves far ahead. Lieutenant Hugh Berkely, of the First, with a sergeant and two troopers, reached the extreme front. He was,

at the time, ahead of every one; the sergeant was killed and one trooper wounded; but the lieutenant and the remaining trooper stuck to their post for the rest of the afternoon, until our line was gradually extended to include them.

"While I was re-forming the troops on the chain of hills, one of General Sumner's aides came up with orders to me to halt where I was, not advancing farther, but to hold the hill at all hazards."

Colonel Roosevelt says that in the attack on the San Juan hills his regiment lost eighty-nine killed and wounded; the loss of the entire American forces being 1,071 killed and wounded. "I think we suffered more heavily than the Spaniards did in the killed and wounded," says Colonel Roosevelt. "It would have been very extraordinary if the reverse was the case."

THE SURRENDER OF SANTIAGO

Every one is familiar with the events following the charge up San Juan Hill and preceding the capture of Santiago—the suffering in the crowded trenches, the hours of weary waiting and desultory fighting, in all of which the Rough Riders did their part with the precision of regulars. On the 17th of July, the city of Santiago formally surrendered, after which the cavalry was marched back to the foot of the hill west of El Caney, and there went to camp.

Many of the Rough Riders had already been stricken down with fever, and in the new camp matters grew worse in a very short time. Over 50 per cent were unfit for any kind of work; all their clothing was in rags; even the officers were without stockings and underwear. Yellow fever then broke out, but chiefly among the Cubans, and, owing to the panic caused by the dread of this disease, the authorities at Wash-

ington hesitated to order the army to return to the United States, fearing that it might introduce the plague into the country. General Shafter then summoned a council of officers, hoping by united action to induce the government to take some active step toward relieving the army at Santiago from destruction.

THE CELEBRATED ROUND ROBIN

Finally the "Round Robin," signed by Colonel Roosevelt and all the other officers, was made public. As Mr. Riis says, this celebrated communication "startled the American people and caused measures of instant relief to be set on foot, the fearful truth that the army was perishing from privation and fever was not known. The cry it sent up was, 'Take us home. We will fight for the flag to the last man if need be. But now our fighting is done, we will not be left here to die.' It was significant that the duty of making the unwelcome disclosure fell to the Colonel of the Rough Riders. Of all the officers who signed it he was the youngest; but from no one could the warning have come with greater force. The Colonel of the Rough Riders, at the head of his men on San Juan Hill, much as I like the picture, is not half so heroic a figure to me as Roosevelt in this hour of danger and doubt, shouldering the blame for the step he knew to be right.

RETURN OF THE ROUGH RIDERS

"So the army came home, his Rough Riders with it, ragged, sore, famished, enfeebled, with yawning gaps in its ranks, but saved; they to tell of his courage and unwearying patience; how in the fight he was always where the bullets flew thickest, until he seemed to them to have a charmed life; how, when it was over, as they lay out in the jungle and in the

trenches at night, they found him always there, never tiring of looking after his men, of seeing that the wounded were cared for and the well were fed; ready to follow him through thick and thin wherever he led, but unwilling to loaf in camp or to do police duty when the country was no longer in need of them to fight; he to be hailed by his grateful fellow citizens with the call to 'step up higher.'"

CHAPTER IX

GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK

Theodore Roosevelt's Pledge—Ambitious to be Right—Chauncey M. Depew Places Roosevelt's Name in Nomination—Advocate of Civil Service Reform—Labor Laws—State Canals—Did Not Wish to be Vice-President—Street Franchise Legislation—State Factory Law Enforced—Friend of the Common People.

When Theodore Roosevelt took the oath of office as governor of New York he said in his inaugural speech:

"It is not given to any man, nor to any set of men, to see with absolutely clear visition into the future. All that can be done is to face the facts as we find them; to meet each difficulty in practical fashion, and to strive steadily for the betterment both of our civil and social conditions."

Said an old State official to Jacob A. Riis at the close of Governor Roosevelt's term of office, "I know that he left something behind that was worth our losing him to get. This past winter, for the first time, I heard the question spring up spontaneously, as it seemed, when a measure was up in the legislature, 'Is it right?' Not 'Is it expedient?' Not 'How is it going to help me?' Not 'What is it worth to the party?' Not any of these, but 'Is it right?' That is Roosevelt's legacy to Albany. And it was worth his coming and his going to have that."

And so it appears, as the celebrated author of "How the Other Half Lives" has expressed it, while Theodore Roose-

velt was learning to be president while governor of New York, he taught us Henry Clay's lesson that there is one thing that is even better than to be president, namely, to be right.

Upon the return of Colonel Roosevelt from Cuba he was hailed as hero on every side, and it was but natural that he should be mentioned as the most available candidate for governor of New York, and in the convention held at Saratoga, September 27, 1898, he received the nomination. Colonel Roosevelt's name was presented to the convention by Hon. Chauncey M. Depew in the following speech:

MR. DEPEW NOMINATES ROOSEVELT

Gentlemen: Not since 1863 has the Republican party met in convention when the conditions of the country were so interesting or so critical. Then the emancipation proclamation of President Lincoln, giving freedom and citizenship to four millions of slaves, brought about a revolution in the internal policy of our government which seemed to multitudes of patriotic men full of the gravest dangers to the republic. The effect of the situation was the sudden and violent sundering of the ties which bound the present to the past and the future. New problems were precipitated upon our statesmen to solve, which were not to be found in the text-books of the schools, nor in the manuals of traditions of Congress. The one courageous, constructive part which our politics has known for half a century solved those problems so successfully that the regenerated and disenthralled republic has grown and prospered under its new birth of liberty beyond all precedent and every prediction.

Now, as then, the unexpected has happened. The wildest dream ever born of the imagination of the most optimistic believer in our destiny could not foresee when McKinley was elected two years ago the onrushing torrent of events of the past three months. We are either to be submerged by this break in the dikes erected by Washington about our government, or we are to find by the wise utilization of the conditions forced upon us how to be safer and stronger within our old boundaries, and to add incalculably to American enterprise and opportunity by becoming master of the sea, and entering with the surplus of our manufactures the markets of the world. We cannot retreat or hide. We must "ride the waves and direct the storm." A war has been fought and won, and vast possessions, near and far away, have been acquired. In the short space of one hundred and thirteen days politicians

and parties have been forced to meet new questions and to take sides upon startling issues. The face of the whole world has been changed. The maps of yesterday are obsolete. Columbus, looking for the Orient and its fabled treasures, sailed four hundred years ago into the land-locked harbor of Santiago, and to-day his spirit sees his bones resting under the flag of a new and great country, which has found the way and conquered the outposts, and is knocking at the door of the farthest East.

The wife of a cabinet officer told me that when Assistant Secretary Roosevelt announced that he had determined to resign and raise a regiment for the war, some of the ladies in the administration thought it their duty to remonstrate with him. They said: "Mr. Roosevelt, you have six children, the youngest a few months old, and the eldest not yet in the teens. While the country is full of young men who have no such responsibilities and are eager to enlist, you have no right to leave the burden upon your wife of the care, support, and bringing up of that family." Roosevelt's answer was a Roosevelt answer: "I have done as much as any one to bring on this war, because I believed it must come, and the sooner the better, and now that the war has come I have no right to ask others to do the fighting and stay at home myself."

THE TYPICAL CITIZEN-SOLDIER

The regiment of Rough Riders was an original American suggestion, and to demonstrate that patriotism and indomitable courage are common to all conditions of American life. The same great qualities are found under the slouch hat of the cowboy and the elegant imported tile of New York's gilded youth. Their mannerisms are the veneers of the West and the East; their manhood is the same.

In that hot and pest-cursed climate of Cuba officers had opportunities for protection from miasma and fever which were not possible for the men. But the Rough Riders endured no hardships nor dangers which were not shared by their colonel. He helped them dig the ditches; he stood beside them in the deadly dampness of the trenches. No floored tent for him if his comrades must sleep on the ground and under the sky. In that world-famed charge of the Rough Riders through the hail of shot and up the hill of San Juan their colonel was a hundred feet in advance. The bullets whistling by him are rapidly thinning the ranks of those desperate fighters. The colonel trips and falls and the line wavers, but in a moment he is up again, waving his sword, climbing and shouting. He bears a charmed life. He climbs the barbed-wire fence and plunges through, yelling, "Come on, boys; come on, and we will lick hell out of them." The moral force of that daring cowed and awed the Spaniards, and they fled from their fortified heights and Santiago was ours.

Colonel Roosevelt is the typical citizen-soldier. The sanitary condition of our army in Cuba might not have been known for weeks through the regular channels

of inspection and report to the various departments. Here the citizen in the colonel overcame the official routine and reticence of the soldier. His graphic letter to the government and the round robin he initiated brought suddenly and sharply to our attention the frightful dangers of disease and death, and resulted in our boys being brought immediately home. He may have been subject to court-martial for violating the articles of war, but the humane impulses of the people gave him gratitude and applause.

PERSONIFIES THE PROGRESSIVE SIDE

It is seldom in political conflicts, when new and unexpected issues have to be met and decided, that a candidate can be found who personifies the popular and progressive side of these issues. Representative men move the masses to enthusiasm and are more easily understood than measures. Lincoln, with his immortal declaration, made at a time when to make it assured his defeat by Douglas for the United States Senate, that "a house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure permanently half-slave and half-free," embodied the anti-slavery doctrine. Grant, with Appomattox and the parole of honor to the Confederate army behind him, stood for the perpetuity of union and liberty. McKinley, by his long and able advocacy of its principles, is the leading spirit for the protection of American industries. For this year, for this crisis, for the voters of the Empire State, for the young men of the country and the upward, onward and outward trend of the United States, the candidate is the hero of Santiago, the idol of the Rough Riders—Colonel Theodore Roosevelt.

ELECTED GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK

A vigorous campaign followed, in which Colonel Roosevelt took an active part. His opponent was Augustus Van Wyck, the candidate on the Democratic ticket, and whom he defeated by a plurality of about 17,000 votes.

Colonel Roosevelt was one of the youngest men ever elected to the office of governor of New York. For the first time in its history, too, the State had for its chief executive an advocate of civil service reform. As many politicians of both parties were opposed to the latter policy, it is easy to see that Governor Roosevelt had at least one perplexing responsibility to face when he came to the gubernatorial chair.

But in spite of considerable opposition he was able to follow out his own ideas and place men of his own choosing in the important offices. He endeavored to secure the passage of a bill to raise the standard of civil service and to change the police system of New York, but the bill failed of passage and it was this and other work that he felt had not been completed that made him opposed to being nominated for the vice-presidency. To quote his own words, he wished "sincerely to be reëlected governor of New York because there were things to be done there that he felt he could and ought to do."

WHAT HE ACHIEVED

But he did much good work, and among other achievements of importance to the welfare of the State was that of reforming the administration of the canals, making the canal commission non-partisan, and the application of the merit system in county offices. These were comparatively easy of accomplishment when compared with his measure to force the corporations of the State to pay their share of the taxation. In 1899, he persuaded the legislature to pass an act taxing as real estate the values of railroad and other franchises to use public streets. The leaders of both parties, and the representatives of corporations, brought every pressure to bear upon the Governor, but he stated that he would sign the bill unless a better one could be suggested. The contest which followed was the most remarkable in the history of the State, if not of the Union, with the result that Governor Roosevelt was obliged to call an extra session, in which he secured the passage of the bill, somewhat modified, but establishing the principle of street franchise legislation.

THE FRIEND OF THE COMMON PEOPLE

And the bill not only became a law, but was enforced, so that corporations were compelled to defray the larger proportion of the taxes of the State. In fact, while friendly to capital, Mr. Roosevelt, whether as Governor of New York or President of the United States, has ever had an eye to the welfare of the common people. This was exemplified in his noble efforts in behalf of the New York poor when, largely through him, the State factory law was enforced, thus doing away with the pernicious sweat shop system.

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THE PRESIDENT IN WYOMING

At New Castle, President Roosevelt was escorted to a beautifully decorated stand through an army of school children who waved miniature flags.

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A SIXTY-MILE RIDE

After making a short address at Laramie, Wyoming, President Roosevelt and a party of friends rode on horseback to Cheyenne.

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AT YELLOWSTONE PARK

The above snapshot of President Roosevelt and Major Pitcher shows the two entering America's Wonder Land at Mammoth Hot Springs.

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THE RECEPTION AT PORTLAND

An immense crowd greeted the President at Portland, Oregon. The above picture shows him reviewing the parade.

CHAPTER X

HOW ROOSEVELT BECAME PRESIDENT

The Cause of His Leadership—Attitude toward the Panama Republic—Self-confidence—The Spanish War—His First Chance—A Flesh and Blood Candidate—Roosevelt's Nomination as Vice-President—Seconds the Nomination of President McKinley—A Memorable Campaign Tour—A National Tragedy—Grasps the Reins of Power—A Hazardous Ride—Roosevelt's Proclamation.

The story of how Theodore Roosevelt became President is a subject that will interest young Americans—and old Americans—to the remotest generations. So long as constitutional government lasts on this hemisphere, his unique, and, in many respects, his picturesque career will be the subject of daily discussion, his code of political ethics the theme of many a written thesis.

A NATURAL SELECTION

It is but fair to say that, although the American people have called a few mediocrities to the Presidency, generally speaking, that high honor has been conferred as a result of a natural selection. As has been intimated, none other than Mr. Roosevelt, with the probable exception of John Quincy Adams and the possible exception of Martin Van Buren, has been the result of particular and individual selection. Take a recent example, for instance, Grover Cleveland, now dubbed by many the most distinguished private citizen of the world, was content to be sheriff of his county in middle age. The Presidency a few years later came to him certainly as a sur-

prise, and to a less phlegmatic temperament it might have been a shock.

BEGINNING OF HIS LEADERSHIP

One does not have to go back so far in an effort to trace the genesis of Theodore Roosevelt's leadership or to analyze the cause of his present commanding position before the country. Only to the campus at Harvard, where he was a student leader, as he has since been a leader of full fledged men. He took life seriously then, but not too seriously. There was a flippant side to his nature. There is a flippant side to his nature now, but not too flippant.

He has been all his life a boy and man to do things, to initiate and to initiate on his own responsibility, accepting with equipoise whatever of praise or blame might come his way. He is not impervious to criticism, and has been known to lose his temper, almost his head, over a newspaper article which, from his viewpoint, was not justified.

HOLDS TO HIS PURPOSE

But once his hand is set to the plow no amount of adverse comment swerves him a hair's breadth. Look at his attitude toward the Panama Republic. He was assailed not only by a vindictive and partisan press—that was to be expected—but by men of his own party, like the venerable and unbesmirched Hoar of Massachusetts, and yet he lost none of his faith in self, which is but another way of saying he lost none of his faith in that Union, loyalty to which is as the breath of his nostrils.

This is one of the things that helped to make Mr. Roosevelt President—a supreme self-confidence without losing confidence in his fellow men; a sublime egoism widely differentiated from self-conceit.

THE OPPORTUNITY CAME

It has been said that the Spanish War gave him his opportunity, and that that is "how Theodore Roosevelt became President." Not so; at least not more so than that the Civil War gave Grant his opportunity; the Revolution, Washington a chance to write his name upon the scroll of fame. It takes a man to grasp an opportunity, a man from the ground up, like Theodore Roosevelt.

He had done things before that delightful old Fabian bushwacker, Maximo Gomez, began to harry Spain for the last time.

The Spanish war gave impetus to Theodore Roosevelt's political star, and hastened its velocity, without damaging its course. He would have been President one day in any event, if there had been no Maine tragedy, no heroic charge up Kettle Hill, no surrender of Santiago.

HOW HE BECAME PRESIDENT

How he became President is almost as interesting a study in the concrete as it is in the abstract. In the abstract he attained that high honor as the result of causation. He was of presidential timber when a student, when the youngest member of the New York Legislature, when the youngest delegate to the National Convention which nominated Blaine and Logan in 1884, when a ranchman in the Northwest.

All he needed was growth, and he grew apace. He became civil service commissioner, police commissioner, assistant secretary of the navy, colonel of the Rough Riders, governor of New York. He was grown.

Concretely he was placed on the Republican national ticket in 1900 because his party needed a flesh and blood candidate

in a dubious year; dubious because of the new issue of over-sea expansion, and voters were to pass upon it for the first time.

In the Republican National Convention of 1900, when the roll of States was called for the nomination of candidates for president, Alabama yielded to Ohio, and Senator Foraker took the platform and placed the name of William McKinley in nomination. When he had finished, Governor Roosevelt took the platform to second the nomination, and there was wild shouting and cheering which lasted for several minutes. The Governor waited patiently, but the greeting did not come to an end until he raised his hand and indicated his wish that the tumult should subside. He spoke in part as follows:

GOVERNOR ROOSEVELT SECONDS THE NOMINATION

I rise to second the nomination of William McKinley, because with him as leader this people has trod the path of national greatness and prosperity with the strides of a giant, and because under him we can and will succeed in the election. Exactly as in the past we have remedied the evils which we undertook to remedy, so now when we say that a wrong shall be righted, it most assuredly will be righted.

We stand on the threshold of a new century, a century big with the fate of the great nations of the earth. It rests with us to decide now whether in the opening years of that century we shall march forward to fresh triumphs, or whether at the outset we shall deliberately cripple ourselves for the contest. Is America a weakling, to shrink from the work that must be done by the world-powers? No! The young giant of the West stands on a continent, and clasps the crest of an ocean in either hand. Our nation, glorious in youth and strength, looks into the future with eager and fearless eyes, and rejoices, as a strong man, to run the race. We do not stand in the craven mood, asking to be spared the task, cringing as we gaze on the contest. No. We challenge the proud privilege of doing the work that Providence has allotted us, and we face the coming years high of heart and resolute of faith that to our people is given to win such honor and renown as has never yet been granted to the peoples of the earth.

When the applause following his speech had subsided, it was a foregone conclusion that his name would occupy the

second place on the ticket, and when the roll of States was called there was not a dissenting vote.

MR. ROOSEVELT'S FAMOUS CAMPAIGN TOUR

The campaign which followed was made memorable by the tour of the vice-presidential nominee, during which time he made speeches in two hundred towns in the State of New York alone. He made forty speeches in Ohio. Then he struck westward, speaking in Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, North and South Dakota, Montana, Idaho, Utah, Wyoming, Colorado, Kansas, Nebraska, Missouri, Iowa, Illinois, and Indiana. Turning eastward again, he visited the States of West Virginia and Maryland.

ABOUT 500 SPEECHES IN 1900

On this speech-making tour of the West Mr. Roosevelt visited ninety-seven principal cities in the States named, making a formal address at each place. But this by no means included all of the speeches he made in that campaign, for there were nearly two hundred towns in which his special train stopped for a few minutes and at which he found crowds of citizens, ranging from hundreds to thousands, eager to hear the brief speeches he was enabled to make. It would be difficult to show the exact number of speeches Mr. Roosevelt made in that campaign, but the aggregate was somewhere near the five hundred mark.

In that campaign President McKinley remained quietly at his Canton home, just as President Roosevelt passed the summer of 1904 at his home at Oyster Bay. In 1900, McKinley, with the quiet dignity becoming the President of all the people, addressed the public only in his written letter of acceptance. The brunt of the active campaign work fell upon

the shoulders of Theodore Roosevelt. Thus it happened that the man who four years ago was the Republican candidate for vice-president visited nearly one-half of the States of the Union and carried the banner of his party into the thickest of the battle.

A DIFFICULT TASK

It is difficult to explain in cold type the physical task of traveling from 10,000 to 15,000 miles, of making from ten to twenty vigorous campaign speeches a day, and of keeping up the strain for eight consecutive weeks; but Theodore Roosevelt was equal to the task. He traveled, of course, in a special train, and he made that train his home in those eight weeks of strenuous campaign endeavor.

Mr. Roosevelt closed the memorable campaign in 1900 by visiting two hundred towns and cities in the State of New York, beginning the tour at Weehawken on October 22d, and closing Saturday night, November 3d, in New York City.

THE ASSASSINATION OF PRESIDENT McKINLEY

Every one is familiar with the triumphant election of McKinley and Roosevelt, and with the latter's record as president of the Senate and with the terrible catastrophe which occurred on September 6, 1901, when Leon Czolgosz assassinated President McKinley in the Temple of Music at the Pan-American Exposition at Buffalo.

Mr. Roosevelt was in Vermont when the tragedy occurred and hurried at once to the side of the stricken chief; here he remained until the physicians stated that President McKinley would probably survive, when he hastened to join his wife and children in the Adirondack Mountains, where to his horror and surprise a message was brought him that the President's condition had changed for the worse.

The story of Mr. Roosevelt's wild race with death and of his hazardous ride down the mountain side as he hurried to the bedside of the dying President, is familiar to all. At length he arrived at the little railroad station at North Creek, where a special train had been waiting for him for several hours, and then he learned from Secretary Loeb that the President was dead.

TAKES THE OATH OF OFFICE

On September 14th, Theodore Roosevelt became President of the United States. The oath of office was administered by Judge John Hazel of the United States District Court, at Buffalo, in the residence of Mr. Ansly Wilcox. After he had sworn to faithfully preserve and obey the constitution and execute the laws of the United States, he said: "In this hour of deep and terrible national bereavement, I wish to state that it shall be my intention and endeavor to continue absolutely unbroken the policy of President McKinley for the peace and prosperity and honor of our beloved country."

This declaration had a marvelous effect upon the country, and when he also gave out the formal notification that there would be no change in the personnel of the cabinet, the people felt that here was a man to be trusted. Immediately following the taking of the oath of office, President Roosevelt gave out the following:

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S PROCLAMATION

A proclamation: A terrible bereavement has befallen our people. The President of the United States has been struck down—a crime committed not only against the chief magistrate, but against every law-abiding and liberty-loving citizen.

President McKinley crowned a life of largest love for his fellow men, of most earnest endeavor for their welfare, by a death of Christian fortitude; and both the way in which he lived his life and the way in which, in the supreme hour of trial, he met his death will remain forever a precious heritage of our people.

It is meet that we as a nation express our abiding love and reverence for his life, our deep sorrow over his untimely death.

Now, therefore, I, Theodore Roosevelt, President of the United States, do appoint Thursday next, September 19th, the day in which the body of the dead President will be laid in its last earthly resting place, as a day of mourning and prayer throughout the United States. I earnestly recommend all the people to assemble on that day in their respective places of divine worship, there to bow down in submission to the will of Almighty God, and to pay out of full hearts their homage of love and reverence to the great and good President whose death has smitten the nation with bitter grief.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington the 14th day of September, A. D. one thousand nine hundred and one, and of the independence of the United States the one hundred and twenty-sixth.

(Seal) THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

By the President: JOHN HAY, Secretary of State.

CHAPTER XI

THE PANAMA CANAL

History of the Project—Its Inception — The Nicaragua Route Proposed — The Canal Bill Signed by the President — Text of the Law — The Spooner Substitute—The Direction of the Panama Canal Placed in the Hands of the War Department — President Roosevelt on the Canal Question—The Incompetency of Colombia—A Bloodless Rebellion—The Duty of the United States.

Probably the greatest event of international significance and importance in President Roosevelt's administration was the treaty between the new Republic of Panama and the United States, for the construction of the isthmian canal. The history of this great project is exceedingly interesting. Following the discovery of gold in California and the opening up of the Pacific coast, interest was naturally manifested in the question of providing an alternative route, safer, more rapid and less costly than those round Cape Horn or across the wild country and passes of the Rockies. The result was the construction of the Panama Railroad across the Isthmus of Panama, which connects North and South America and separates the Atlantic from the Pacific. This railroad was five years in building, being completed in 1855.

PLANS FOR A CANAL

Following the building of the Panama Railroad came plans for a ship canal to be made across the Isthmus of Panama, connecting the Atlantic with the Pacific. The plan was to follow the course of the waterway connecting Colon or Aspin-

wall, on the Atlantic, with Panama, on the Pacific. The total length of the projected waterway was about fifty miles, the maximum width 72 feet and the average depth 28 feet. The cutting of the Cordilleras, which would necessitate an excavation of some 350 feet deep at one part, and the controlling of the waters of the River Chadres, were the chief difficulties to be encountered.

COMMENCEMENT OF OPERATIONS

Operations were commenced in 1881, by a French company, under M. de Lesseps, and composed of stockholders drawn mostly from among the common people. The work of excavation went on more or less continuously until 1887, but after an expenditure of more than $266,000,000, the company fell into difficulties and in 1899 suspended payment. In November, 1892, criminal proceedings on behalf of the French government were instituted against the leading officials of the canal, a committee of inquiry into its affairs was appointed by the chamber of deputies, and several prominent French officials were convicted of bribery.

The history of this company's financial operations has never been written, but this much is known, that it could only show work done to the value of something like $140,000,000; the difference, over $120,000,000, having disappeared. In 1893, the Colombian government entered into a contract with the reorganized Panama Company, whereby the time for the completion of the canal was extended to October 31, 1904. In 1900, a further extension of six years was granted.

Meanwhile, the Nicaragua route had been proposed, providing for a waterway for ships across Central America from the Pacific to the Atlantic, passing through the Republic of Nicaragua, and utilizing the lake of the same name and the

San Juan River. The total length of this route was 170 miles from Greytown, on the Caribbean Sea, to Brito, on the Pacific. Of this distance, about 65 miles would consist of free navigation on the San Juan River, and 56 miles of free navigation on Lake Nicaragua, a total of 121 miles.

THE NICARAGUA ROUTE

The Nicaragua route, according to the official report made to President Grant in 1876, possessed, both for the construction and maintenance of a canal, greater advantages and offered fewer difficulties from engineering, commercial and economic points of view, than any of the other routes shown to be practical by surveys sufficiently in detail to enable a judgment to be formed by their relative merits. The question of the construction of the Nicaragua Canal by the government of the United States, or if by private capital with the guarantee of the government, received the very serious attention of Congress. The necessity of the isthmian canal was made obvious when the Oregon, during the Spanish-American War, had to travel 13,000 miles from San Francisco to Key West to join Admiral Sampson's squadron. In all the investigation undertaken both by officials and private individuals, the part taken by the United States was most prominent. The American government, from time to time, dispatched to the isthmus many exploring expeditions, and President McKinley, in his message to Congress, in 1898, recommended that the United States government either purchase or make some arrangement for the control of this proposed waterway.

There was one difficulty in the way, however, and that was the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, the first article of which provided that neither Great Britain nor the United States should obtain or maintain exclusive control over the canal; and, as the

treaty was perpetual and no method was provided for its termination, the treaty remained in force until mutually abrogated.

THE TREATY RATIFIED

Early in the twentieth century a convention was arranged by Secretary of State John Hay and Lord Pauncefote, British ambassador at Washington, which resulted in giving the former sole power and right to construct and control the Nicaragua Canal. Many delicate questions of interest were involved on both sides, but all were so wisely adjusted that both parties ratified the treaty.

On the 9th of January, 1902, the House of Representatives passed a bill providing for the construction of a canal across the Isthmus to Nicaragua. The vote was almost unanimous, being 308 yeas to 2 nays. In the Senate, after some debate, the Spooner bill giving the preference to the Panama route was passed June 19th, by a vote of 42 yeas to 38 nays. The substitute was accepted by the House of Representatives June 26th, and signed by the President June 28th.

The action of the United States Congress in passing the Spooner substitute for the Nicaragua Canal bill adopted by the House, was the result of a supplementary report made by the canal commission on the 18th of January, 1902. In its first report, made November 16, 1901, the commission recommended the Nicaragua route for the reason that the demands of the French Panama canal company were too exorbitant. On the 4th of January, 1902, the French bondholders of the Panama route offered their rights, interests and plant to the United States for $40,000,000. The United States then offered Colombia, Panama being one of the states of that confederation, $10,000,000 upon the ratification of the Hay-Herran treaty,

which in brief gave the former the right to build the canal. This was rejected by the Colombians, who demanded more money, and on November 6, 1903, the independence of Panama was recognized by the American government, and a treaty entered into with the new republic which granted to the United States the occupation and control of the canal zone, and authorized the Panama Canal Company to sell its rights to the United States government.

REPORT OF THE COMMISSION

In comparing the Nicaragua and Panama routes the commission cited the advantage and disadvantage of each substitute as follows:

In each case a canal with locks would be required; the water-supply features were satisfactory on both lines; both dams by which the summit levels would be sustained were practicable, while the plan of regulating the summit level on the Panama route was simpler than that on the other; the absence of harbors on the Nicaragua line would make the period of preparation longer than on the Panama line, where harbors are already in existence and where a railroad is in operation along the whole route.

The Panama route is 49.09 miles long, and 134.6 miles shorter than the Nicaragua route from sea to sea, with fewer locks and less curvature both in degrees and miles. The estimated time for a deep-draft vessel to pass through the Nicaragua Canal was placed at thirty-three hours, as against twelve hours for Panama, these estimates being the time of actual navigation and not including delays for winds, currents or darkness.

If the passage were made without interruption, about a day could be saved by the Nicaragua over the Panama route by ordinary steamers handling commerce between Pacific ports and all Atlantic ports, and about two days by steamers of the same class trading between gulf ports and north Pacific ports. The time advantage of the Nicaragua route would be less in the case of fast high-powered steamers, the use of which is increasing.

Between Atlantic ports and the west coast of South America the Panama route has the advantage of about two days, and between the gulf ports and the west coast of South America the Panama route has the advantage of about one day. The trade of the western coast of South America is a very important one, which has hitherto

been in European hands. It was also the sense of the commission that the total time required for the construction of the canal by the Panama route would be ten years, and eight years by the Nicaragua route, with a greater probability of exigencies causing delays on the latter than on the former.

JOHN F. WALLACE APPOINTED CHIEF ENGINEER

On April 27, 1904, arrangements to pay the $40,000,000 to the Panama Canal Company were made and the title of the property transferred to the United States. On May 9th, President Roosevelt put the direction of the Panama Canal zone in the hands of the War Department, and issued comprehensive rules for building the canal. On May 10th, John Findlay Wallace, general manager of the Illinois Central Railroad, was appointed chief engineer in charge of the construction of the Panama Canal.

Thus was commenced one of the greatest engineering projects in the history of the world. For a time President Roosevelt was criticised by his political opponents for undue haste in recognizing the independence of Panama, notwithstanding the protest on the part of the government of Colombia. He was able, however, to prove that the position of the United States government was absolutely unassailable from the standpoint of international law, commercial advisability and national honor. In his message to the Fifty-Eighth Congress, President Roosevelt said:

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S MESSAGE

When the Congress directed that we should take the Panama route under treaty with Colombia, the essence of the condition, of course, referred not to the government which controlled that route, but to the route itself; to the territory across which the route lay, not to the name which for the moment the territory bore on the map. The purpose of the law was to authorize the president to make a treaty with the power in actual control of the Isthmus of Panama. This purpose has been fulfilled.

In the year 1846 this government entered into a treaty with New Granada, the

predecessor upon the isthmus of the republic of Colombia and of the present republic of Panama, by which treaty it was provided that the government and citizens of the United States should always have free and open right of way or transit across the Isthmus of Panama by any modes of communication that might be constructed, while in return our government guaranteed the perfect neutrality of the above-mentioned isthmus with the view that the free transit from the one to the other sea might not be interrupted or embarrassed. The treaty vested in the United States a substantial property right carved out of the rights of sovereignty and property which New Granada then had and possessed over the said territory. The name of New Granada has passed away and its territory has been divided. Its successor, the government of Colombia, has ceased to own any property in the isthmus. A new republic, that of Panama, which was at one time a sovereign state and at another time a mere department of the successive confederations known as New Granada and Colombia, has now succeeded to the rights which first one and then the other formerly exercised over the isthmus. But as long as the isthmus endures the mere geographical fact of its existence and the peculiar interest therein which is required by our position perpetuate the solemn contract which binds the holders of the territory to respect our right to freedom of transit across it and binds us in return to safeguard for the isthmus and the world the exercise of that inestimable privilege. The true interpretation of the obligations upon which the United States entered in this treaty of 1846 has been given repeatedly in the utterances of presidents and secretaries of state. Secretary Cass in 1858 officially stated the position of this government as follows:

SOVEREIGNTY HAS ITS DUTIES

"The progress of events has rendered the interoceanic route across the narrow portion of Central America vastly important to the commercial world, and especially to the United States, whose possessions extend along the Atlantic and Pacific coasts and demand the speediest and easiest modes of communication. While the rights of sovereignty of the states occupying this region should always be respected, we shall expect that these rights be exercised in a spirit befitting the occasion and the wants and circumstances that have arisen. Sovereignty has its duties as well as its rights, and none of these local governments, even if administered with more regard to the just demands of other nations than they have been, would be permitted, in a spirit of Eastern isolation, to close the gates of intercourse on the great highways of the world, and justify the act by the pretension that these avenues of trade and travel belong to them and that they choose to shut them, or, what is almost equivalent, to encumber them with such unjust relations as would prevent their general use."

OPINIONS OF NOTED STATESMEN

Seven years later, in 1865, Mr. Seward in different communications took the following position:

"The United States have taken and will take no interest in any question of internal revolution in the state of Panama, or any state of the United States of Colombia, but will maintain a perfect neutrality in connection with such domestic altercations. The United States will, nevertheless, hold themselves ready to protect the transit trade across the isthmus against invasion of either domestic or foreign disturbers of the peace of the state of Panama. . . . Neither the text nor the spirit of the stipulation in that article by which the United States engages to preserve the neutrality of the Isthmus of Panama imposes an obligation on this government to comply with the requisition [of the president of the United States of Colombia for a force to protect the Isthmus of Panama from a body of insurgents of that country]. The purpose of the stipulation was to guarantee the isthmus against seizure or invasion by a foreign power only."

Attorney-General Speed, under date of Nov. 7, 1865, advised Secretary Seward as follows:

"From this treaty it cannot be supposed that New Granada invited the United States to become a party to the internecine troubles of that government, nor did the United States become bound to take sides in the domestic broils of New Granada. The United States did guarantee New Granada in the sovereignty and property over the territory. This was as against other and foreign governments."

For four hundred years, ever since shortly after the discovery of this hemisphere, the canal across the isthmus has been planned. For two-score years it has been worked at. When made it is to last for the ages. It is to alter the geography of a continent and the trade routes of the world. We have shown by every treaty we have negotiated or attempted to negotiate with the peoples in control of the isthmus and with foreign nations in reference thereto, our consistent good faith in observing our obligations on the one hand to the people of the isthmus and on the other hand to the civilized world, whose commercial rights we are safeguarding and guaranteeing by our action. We have done our duty to others in letter and in spirit and we have shown the utmost forbearance in exacting our own rights.

COLOMBIA REPUDIATED TREATY

Last spring, under the act above referred to, a treaty concluded between the representatives of the republic of Colombia and of our government was ratified by the Senate. This treaty was entered into at the urgent solicitation of the people of Colombia and after a body of experts appointed by our government especially to go into the matter of the routes across the isthmus had pronounced unanimously in

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THE PRESIDENT IN NEBRASKA

The above picture shows President Roosevelt speaking at Grand Island, where he broke ground for the new Carnegie Library

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A SEA OF FACES

President Roosevelt's splendid welcome to Lincoln, Nebraska, is shown in the above illustration.

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THE PRESIDENT IN MISSOURI

The above interesting photograph, showing the President making one of his characteristic gestures, was taken during his speech at Hannibal.

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A TYPICAL IOWA AUDIENCE

The President's trip through Iowa was marked by spontaneous enthusiasm The citizens of Keokuk gave him a warm welcome.

favor of the Panama route. In drawing up this treaty every concession was made to the people and to the government of Colombia. We were more than just in dealing with them. Our generosity was such as to make it a serious question whether we had not gone too far in their interest at the expense of our own, for in our scrupulous desire to pay all possible heed not merely to the real but even to the fancied rights of our weaker neighbor, who already owed so much to our protection and forbearance, we yielded in all possible ways to her desires in drawing up the treaty. Nevertheless, the government of Colombia not merely repudiated the treaty but repudiated it in such manner as to make it evident by the time the Colombian Congress adjourned that not the scantiest hope remained of ever getting a satisfactory treaty from them. The government of Colombia made the treaty, and yet when the Colombian Congress was called to ratify it the vote against ratification was unanimous. It does not appear that the government made any real effort to secure ratification.

A BLOODLESS REVOLUTION

Immediately after the adjournment of the Congress a revolution broke out in Panama. The people of Panama had long been discontented with the republic of Colombia and they had been kept quiet only by the prospect of the conclusion of the treaty, which was to them a matter of vital concern. When it became evident that the treaty was hopelessly lost, the people of Panama rose literally as one man. Not a shot was fired by a single man on the isthmus in the interest of the Colombian government. Not a life was lost in the accomplishment of the revolution. The Colombian troops stationed on the isthmus, who had long been unpaid, made common cause with the people of Panama, and with astonishing unanimity the new republic was started. The duty of the United States in the premises was clear. In strict accordance with the principles laid down by Secretaries Cass and Seward in the official documents above quoted, the United States gave notice that it would permit the landing of no expeditionary force the arrival of which would mean chaos and destruction along the line of the railroad and of the proposed canal and an interruption of transit as an inevitable consequence. The *de facto* government of Panama was recognized.

COLOMBIA UNABLE TO MAINTAIN ORDER

When these events happened, fifty-seven years had elapsed since the United States had entered into its treaty with New Granada. During that time the governments of New Granada and of its successor, Colombia, have been in constant state of flux. In short, the experience of over half a century has shown Colombia to be utterly incapable of keeping order on the isthmus. Only the active interference of the United States has enabled her to preserve so much as a semblance of

sovereignty. Had it not been for the exercise by the United States of the police power in her interest her connection with the isthmus would have been sundered long ago. In 1856, in 1860, in 1873, in 1885, in 1901 and again in 1902 sailors and marines from United States warships were forced to land in order to patrol the isthmus, to protect life and property and to see that the transit across the isthmus was kept open. In 1861, in 1862, in 1885 and in 1900 the Colombian government asked that the United States government would land troops to protect its interests and maintain order on the isthmus.

The control, in the interest of the commerce and traffic of the whole civilized world, of the means of undisturbed transit across the Isthmus of Panama has become of transcendent importance to the United States. We have repeatedly exercised this control by intervening in the course of domestic dissension and by protecting the territory from foreign invasion. In 1853 Mr. Everett assured the Peruvian minister that we should not hesitate to maintain the neutrality of the isthmus in the case of war between Peru and Colombia. In 1864 Colombia, which has always been vigilant to avail itself of its privileges conferred by the treaty, expressed its expectation that in the event of war between Peru and Spain the United States would carry into effect the guaranty of neutrality. There have been few administrations of the state department in which this treaty has not, either by the one side or the other, been used as a basis of more or less important demands. It was said by Mr. Fish in 1871 that the department of state had reason to believe that an attack upon Colombian sovereignty on the isthmus had on several occasions been averted by warning from this government. In 1886, when Colombia was under the menace of hostilities from Italy in the Cerruti case, Mr. Bayard expressed the serious concern that the United States could not but feel that a European power should resort to force against a sister republic of this hemisphere, as to the sovereign and uninterrupted use of a part of whose territory we are guarantors under the solemn faith of a treaty.

AN UNREAL SUPREMACY

The above recital of facts establishes beyond question, first, that the United States has for over half a century patiently and in good faith carried out its obligations under the treaty of 1846; second, that when for the first time it became possible for Colombia to do anything in requital of the services thus repeatedly rendered to it for fifty-seven years by the United States, the Colombian government peremptorily and offensively refused thus to do its part, even though to do so would have been to its advantage and immeasurably to the advantage of the state of Panama, at that time under its jurisdiction; third, that throughout this period revolutions, riots and factional disturbances of every kind have occurred one after the other in almost

uninterrupted succession, some of them lasting for months and even for years, while the central government was unable to put them down or to make peace with the rebels; fourth, that these disturbances, instead of showing any sign of abating, have tended to grow more numerous and more serious in the immediate past; fifth, that the control of Colombia over the Isthmus of Panama could not be maintained without the armed intervention and assistance of the United States. In other words, the government of Colombia, though wholly unable to maintain order on the isthmus, has nevertheless declined to ratify a treaty the conclusion of which opened the only chance to secure its own stability and to guarantee permanent peace on and the construction of a canal across the isthmus.

Under such circumstances the government of the United States would have been guilty of folly and weakness, amounting in their sum to a crime against the nation, had it acted otherwise than it did when the revolution of November 3d last took place in Panama. This great enterprise of building the interoceanic canal cannot be held up to gratify the whims, or out of respect to the governmental impotence or to the even more sinister and evil political peculiarities of people who, though they dwell afar off, yet against the wish of the actual dwellers on the isthmus assert an unreal supremacy over the territory. The possession of a territory fraught with such peculiar capacities as the isthmus in question carries with it obligations to mankind. The course of events has shown that this canal cannot be built by private enterprise or by any other nation than our own.

CHAPTER XII

THE MERGER DECISION

The Anti-Trust Act—Can Prevent Combination—Judge Thayer's Decision Held as a Victory for the People—President Roosevelt Given Much Credit—The Declaration of the Court—Trusts are Illegal—A Sweeping Opinion—A Triumph of Law.

On April 9, 1903, Judge Thayer, of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, at St. Paul, handed down a decision declaring the $400,000,000 Northern Securities Company an illegal corporation, and enjoined it from voting the stock to the Great Northern and Northern Pacific Railroad Company, a decree that this stock should be returned to the former owners. The decree entered in accordance with the finding was a drastic one, and did not leave a single peg for the great merger of the Northern Pacific, the Great Northern, and the Burlington to hang upon.

WILL PREVENT CAPITALISTIC COMBINATIONS

To Attorney General Knox the decision came with extreme satisfaction, because the fact that he has all along contended that the anti-trust act is broad enough, if rightfully interpreted, to prevent a combination of railway or other properties inimical to the best interests of the people. It was recognized that the decision would have a double effect: Of preventing other similar mergers of railway interests, and of placing a ready weapon in the hands of the government in the form of a clear interpretation of the law with respect to capi-

talistic combinations which are in restraint of trade. The Northern Securities Company was the plan devised by the brightest minds of the country to circumvent the law and provide a legal way of building a strong wall about the securities of merger companies, where they could be without fear of the water oozing out of them, and without fear of any one interested playing with his interest and thereby breaking the combination. It affords a safe means of unloading the burdensome and placing them in a receptacle where they could be dealt out to the public when public demand was most favorable. The decision was hailed as a triumph of law and as a victory for the people, which strengthened their confidence in the administration of the law as well as a welcome check upon corporate aggression.

MADE ROOSEVELT'S NOMINATION A CERTAINTY

The friends of President Roosevelt, in their enthusiasm, were of the opinion that the merger decision made his nomination and reëlection a certainty; in their opinion the masses of the American people would give the President much credit for his successful efforts to curb monopoly, and to make him virtually invincible in the political field. There was also considerable comment upon the fact that the administration's greatest success in the trust-prosecuting line was won by an official who had been accused of being a trust-lawyer.

IN RESTRAINT OF TRADE

The Northern Securities Company was organized under the laws of New Jersey for the purpose of taking over and holding the stocks of the Northern Pacific and Great Northern Railroad companies. This was deemed by the Government to be in restraint of interstate trade, and suit was

brought in the United States Circuit Court at St. Paul, Minn., under the Sherman Anti-Trust Act of 1890. In February, 1893, Congress passed an act expediting anti-trust suits, and in accordance with the provisions of this law the case was given precedence over other business, and was heard before four judges of the Eighth Circuit, namely, Judges A. M. Thayer, H. C. Caldwell, Walter H. Sanborn, and Willis Van Devanter. Their decision, written by Judge Thayer, but concurred in by all, was that the Northern Securities Company was an illegal combination within the meaning of the act of 1890.

THE DECREE ENTERED

A decree was entered adjudging that the stock of the Northern Pacific and Great Northern companies held by the Securities Company was acquired in virtue of a combination among the defendants in restraint of trade and commerce among the several States, such as the anti-trust act denounces as illegal; enjoining the Securities Company from acquiring further stock and from voting such stock at any meeting of the stockholders of either of the railroad companies, or exercising any control or influence over the acts of the companies; enjoining the Northern Pacific and Great Northern companies from permitting such stock to be voted by the Securities Company at any corporate election for directors or officers of said companies, and likewise enjoining them from paying any dividends to the Securities Company on account of said stock, or permitting the Securities Company to exercise any control whatsoever over the corporate acts of the companies or to direct the policy of either; and, finally, permitting the Securities Company to return to the stockholders of the Northern Pacific and Great Northern companies any and all shares of stock of those companies which it might have received from

such stockholders in exchange for its own stock. The court, after reciting the facts of the merger, declared:

DECLARATION OF THE COURT

The scheme which was thus devised and consummated led inevitably to the following results:

First, it placed the control of the two roads in the hands of a single person—to wit, the Securities Company—by virtue of its ownership of a large majority of the stock of both companies.

Second, it destroyed every motive for competition between two roads engaged in interstate traffic, which were natural competitors for business, by pooling the earnings of the two roads for the common benefit of the stockholders of both companies. . . .

The general question of law arising upon this state of facts is whether such a combination of interests as that described falls within the inhibition of the anti-trust act or is beyond its reach. The act brands as illegal every contract, combination in the form of trust or otherwise, or conspiracy in restraint of trade or commerce among the several States or with foreign nations. The generality of the language employed is, in our opinion, of great significance. It indicates, we think, that Congress, being unable to foresee and describe all the plans that might be formed and all the expedients that might be resorted to to place restraints on interstate trade or commerce, deliberately employed words of such general import as in its opinion would comprehend every scheme that might be devised to accomplish that end. . . .

IN RESTRAINT OF TRADE

Moreover, in cases arising under the act it has been held by the highest judicial authority in the nation, and its opinion has been reiterated in no uncertain tone, that the act applies to interstate carriers of freight and passengers as well as to all other persons, natural or artificial; that the words "in restraint of trade or commerce" do not mean in unreasonable or partial restraint of trade or commerce, but any direct restraint thereof; that an agreement between competing railroads which requires them to act in concert in fixing the rate for carriage of passengers or freight over their respective lines from one State to another, and which by that means restricts temporarily the right of any one of such carriers to name such rates for the carriage of such freight or passengers over its road as it pleases, is a contract in direct restraint of commerce within the meaning of the act, in that it tends to prevent competition; that it matters not whether, while acting under such a contract, the rate fixed is reasonable or unreasonable, the vice of such a contract or combination being that it confers the power to establish unreasonable rates and directly restrains commerce by placing obstacles in the way of free and unrestricted

competition between carriers who are natural rivals for patronage; and, finally, that Congress has the power, under the grant of authority contained in federal legislation, to regulate commerce, to say that no contract or combination shall be legal which shall restrain interstate commerce or trade by shutting off the operation of the general law of competition.

VIOLATED THE ANTI-TRUST ACT

Taking the foregoing propositions for granted, because they have been decided by a court whose authority is controlling, it is almost too plain for argument that the defendants would have violated the anti-trust act if they had done through the agency of natural persons what they have accomplished through an artificial person of their own creation. That is to say, if the same individuals who promoted the Securities Company, in pursuance of a previous understanding or agreement so to do, had transferred their stock in the two railroad companies to a third party or parties and had agreed to induce other stockholders to do likewise, until a majority of the stock of both companies had been vested in a single individual or association of individuals, and had empowered the holder or holders to vote the stock as their own, receive all the dividends thereon, and pro rata or divide them among all the stockholders of the two companies which had transferred their stock, the result would have been a combination in direct restraint of interstate commerce, because it would have placed in the hands of a small coterie of men the power to suppress competition between two competing interstate carriers whose lines are practically parallel.

It will not do to say that so long as each railroad company has its own board of directors they operate independently and are not controlled by the owners of the majority of their stock. It is the common experience of mankind that the acts of corporations are dictated and that their policy is controlled by those who own the majority of their stock. Indeed, one of the favorite methods in these days, and about the only method, of obtaining control of a corporation is to purchase the greater part of its stock. It was the method pursued by the Northern Pacific and the Great Northern companies to obtain control of the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad; and so long as directors are chosen by stockholders the latter will necessarily dominate the former and in a real sense determine all important corporate acts. . . .Competition, we think, would not be more effectually restrained than it now is under and by force of the existing arrangement, if the two railroad companies were consolidated under a single charter.

CONGRESS HAS ABSOLUTE CONTROL

Referring to the laws of New Jersey under which the Securities Company was incorporated, the court held that pre-

sumptively no charter granted by a State is intended to defeat a national law such as that relating to interstate commerce, over which Congress has absolute control. The power of Congress over interstate commerce is supreme, far-reaching, and acknowledges no limitations other than such as are prescribed in the constitution itself. No legislation on the part of a State can curtail or interfere with its exercise, and in view of repeated decisions no one can deny that it is a legitimate exercise of the power in question for Congress to say that neither natural nor artificial persons can combine or conspire in any form whatever to place restraints on interstate trade or commerce.

In reply to the contention that such a combination of adverse interests as was formed was lawful and not prohibited by the anti-trust act because such restraint as it imposes, if any, is indirect, collateral and remote, the court held that the combination did directly impose restraint upon interstate commerce. It did not matter through how many hands the orders came by which the aims of the company were accomplished. The power was not only acquired by the combination, but it was effectually exercised, and it operated directly on interstate commerce, notwithstanding the manner of its exercise, by controlling the means of transportation, to wit, the cars, engines and railroads by which persons and commodities are carried, as well as by fixing the price to be charged for such carriage.

LIMITED BY THE COMMERCE CLAUSE

With respect to the contention that if the Securities Company was held to be in violation of the anti-trust act, then the act unduly restricted the right of the individual to make contracts, and for that reason was invalid, the court cited the case

of Addyston Pipe and Steel Company vs. the United States, in which the Supreme Court held that the provision of the constitution regarding the liberty of the citizen is to some extent limited by the commerce clause of the constitution, and that the power of Congress to regulate interstate commerce comprises the right to enact a law prohibiting the citizen from entering into those private contracts which directly and substantially, and not merely indirectly, remotely, incidentally and collaterally, regulate to a greater or less degree commerce among the States.

In the case of the State of Minnesota against the Northern Securities Company, the Great Northern and Northern Pacific railroad companies, Judge Lochren of the United States Circuit handed down a decision at St. Paul, Minn., August 1, 1903, in which he found for the defendants and dismissed the bill of complaint of the State. He decided that the Northern Securities Company had not violated the State laws forbidding the consolidation of parallel and competing railroads through its ownership of the Great Northern and Northern Pacific stock. The decision did not affect that given in the government's case against the same defendants. In one case State law and in the other federal law was at issue.

CHAPTER XIII

THE PRESIDENT STARTS ON HIS TRIP

Anxious to Give an Account of His Stewardship—Rides in the Cab with the Engineer — Throngs Await His Coming — Arrives at Chicago — Reception at Evanston — The President's Celebrated Speech on the Monroe Doctrine — Trip through Wisconsin — Famous Address on Trusts in Milwaukee.

President Roosevelt's record-breaking tour through the country which commenced April 1, 1903, was not planned wholly or in part as a scheme to win the nomination. As stated by a well-known political authority, the President himself realized that his failure or success before the Republican National Convention of 1904 would depend upon the country's view of his career in the White House, and that no amount of traveling about the country would have much effect upon the popular judgment.

On the other hand, President Roosevelt was anxious to meet and talk to the people, as he wanted to give an account of his stewardship. His speeches, therefore, were confined to a review of the preceding year, because he felt that many of the events at Washington which had engaged the attention of the country were not fully understood, and he planned to present his version during this memorable tour.

RECEIVED WITH CORDIAL GREETINGS

The President and his party left Washington on the Pennsylvania Railroad at nine o'clock, on Wednesday, April 1st, and arrived in Pittsburg at 8.30 the same evening. The

journey from Washington proved one of keen enjoyment to the Executive, and his gratification over the cordial greetings extended to him along the line was manifested in various ways to his traveling companions. At but three places were stops made—Baltimore, Harrisburg, and Altoona—and at each throngs were present to indicate, by ringing cheers, the high regard in which the people hold the President.

RIDES WITH THE ENGINEER

The incident of the day occurred when the train reached Altoona at 4:50 o'clock. Here two engines were needed to pull the heavy palace cars over the Alleghany Mountains. While the coupling was being perfected, the President chatted with friends upon the platform, but, as soon as the warning bell for the start sounded its first peal, Mr. Roosevelt surprised his companions by walking briskly toward the cab of the second locomotive, declaring that he was determined to view the glorious scenery round the famous Horseshoe Curve from that vantage point. The President entered the cab and as he took his seat remarked that, being a member of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, he thought he ought to take his turn at firing the furnace, but this he did not attempt. When Galitzen, the crest of the mountains, was reached, the front locomotive was detached from the engine and the run to Seward was made with one engine. Here the President descended from the lofty seat and, after shaking hands with the engineers and firemen, went back to his car rather dusty and grimy, but enthusiastic over his rough ride.

A large crowd met the train at Harrisburg and, although no speeches were scheduled, President Roosevelt appeared on the rear platform of his car and delivered a short address, which was received with many cheers, in answer to hearty

greetings from the president of the Pennsylvania senate and the speaker of the house. President Roosevelt spoke as follows:

SPEECH AT HARRISBURG

Congressman, Mr. Speaker, Mr. President and Mr. Mayor, and Gentlemen and Ladies: I am very greatly touched and pleased by this greeting—a wholly unexpected one. I had not supposed that my speech-making would begin before to-morrow. There is not much for me to say to you. I feel rather when I come here like sitting at the feet of Gamaliel and learning. The prosperity in which you of this State, you of this city, have so abundantly shared must come primarily from two sources, the individual man, capitalist or wage worker, working for himself as a foundation but upon it the superstructure of the men who work not merely for themselves, but for one another. The president of the senate was kind enough to speak of what has been done for the wage worker, and therefore the citizens as a whole in this State.

A MORAL LESSON

I go away from Washington with a light heart, very largely because of the admirable work done by the gentlemen of the anthracite strike commission. And surely no publication by any association designed purely to teach a moral lesson to our people can be better worth scanning and learning than the document containing the conclusions of those men, and if as a people we will take to heart the lessons taught therein, it will be better for all of us.

Fundamentally our interests are the same. Fundamentally you hurt or help some of our people and inevitably you hurt or help others. Fundamentally the most important lesson to be learned in our national life is the lesson of our solidarity of interests, and that every man of us, if he is fit to be a citizen of this republic, must pull his own weight and must also do his best to help his brother at the same time.

ARRIVES AT CHICAGO

The President and his party reached Chicago about nine o'clock Thursday morning, April 2d. He was met at the station by a delegation of distinguished Chicagoans, and although there was a reception in his coach, few formalities marked this first function. President Roosevelt's mission, at this juncture, lay out in Evanston at the Northwestern University, where the people were waiting to do him honor. Another locomotive,

this time manned by a crew of the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railroad, steamed down the track, was coupled to the presidential train and, waving a temporary farewell, the President disappeared within his car.

At Evanston, preparation for a generous welcome had been going forward almost since dawn, and when the special drew up at the station all was in readiness. Mayor Patton greeted the distinguished guest; the words of welcome were spoken and answered; trumpets sounded; soldiers wheeled into line, and the cavalcade started on its way to the Northwestern University.

A very touching incident occurred during the drive. As the President's carriage passed in front of Rest Cottage, the old home of Frances E. Willard, and the place was pointed out to him by Mayor Patton, Mr. Roosevelt had the carriage pause for a moment before it, and reverently saluted the home of the late temperance leader. Miss Willard and Mr. Roosevelt met when he was police commissioner of New York, and she was much impressed by his vigorous and manly character.

AN ARMY OF SCHOOL CHILDREN

Finally a crossing was reached and the lines of men and women gave way. In their place was an army of school children. Each tiny hand clutched a flag and waved it vigorously. The President dropped his hat on the carriage seat beside him and held his hands out in expressive welcome to the little tots. The response was a shower of roses and carnations that fell in the carriage and beneath the horses' feet. At last the gray walls of the university showed in the distance. The entrance to the grounds was reached and after greeting the students, who hailed him joyously, he entered the college.

After listening to words of welcome by President James, the Chief Executive responded, in part, as follows:

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S EVANSTON SPEECH

We have no room for the idler here; we have no room for the man who merely wishes to lead a pleasant life; if that is all he desires he can never count in American work; if the man has not got in him the desire to count, the desire to do good work in whichever line he adopts, then scant is our use for him.

But if he has got it in him, then all that I ask him to remember is this—all that I ask each one of you here to remember is this: that if you go from this university—from any university—feeling merely that your course has given you special privileges; if you feel that it has put you in a class apart, you will fail in life. If you feel, on the other hand, that the very fact of your having had special advantages imposes upon you special responsibilities, makes it specially incumbent upon you to show that you can do your duty with peculiar excellence; if you approach life in that spirit the university training will have done much for you.

PHYSICAL AND MENTAL STRENGTH

We need all the training for mind that can be given. We need all the training for body that can be given. I welcome every form of rough, vigorous athletic sports. Some of the cheering this morning made me feel as if I was looking on at a good football game. I welcome all forms of manly, vigorous, rough exercise. The best kind of work that can be done is such as is done by your life-saving crew here. But all universities cannot be placed beside a lake, where there is a chance for a crew. They are going to do the best they can with the nine and the eleven.

Now, it is a great thing to have a safe and a strong and a vigorous mind. But best of all is to have that which is partly made up of both, and partly made up of something higher and better—character. That is what counts, and the main good that can be done to you after all in a university such as this, is to give you what I am certain universities do give—character—a fine and high type of citizenship. That is what we must strive to produce in our universities. Physical strength? Yes. Mental strength? Yes, even more than physical. But above all, let us strive to develop that for the lack of which neither bodily prowess nor mental capacity can atone—the quality of the soul, of the heart, the qualities of strength, of courage, of sweetness, which we group together when we say that a man or woman has character.

The formal welcome of the city of Chicago was extended to President Roosevelt by Mayor Harrison and a committee

of professional and business men upon his return from Evanston. The Chief Executive of the nation and the Chief Magistrate of Chicago left the car and, as soon as they reached the platform, walked arm-in-arm between the two lines of committeemen to the street, where a carriage awaited them. The party then drove rapidly to the Auditorium Hotel. After luncheon President Roosevelt was conveyed to the home of Dr. William R. Harper, president of the University of Chicago. From Dr. Harper's residence, after being attired in cap and gown, the President marched to Kent Theater, accompanied by representatives of all the colleges and affiliated schools of the university, where the degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred upon him; after which the procession moved to the site of the University of Chicago Law School Building, where he was to lay the corner stone. During the march, the line of which lay between two files of three thousand students, "Dr." Roosevelt was greeted with wild enthusiasm, and when the procession had reached the site of the law school, President Roosevelt was handed a trowel, and after he had spread the cement on the foundation stone, and the corner stone had been lowered into position, he stepped to the center of the speaker's stand and spoke, substantially, as follows:

ADDRESS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

It is of vast importance to our well-being as a nation that there should be a foundation deep and broad of material well-being. No nation can amount to anything great unless the individuals composing it have so worked with the head or with the hand for their own benefit, as well as for the benefit of their fellows, in material ways, that the sum of the national prosperity is great.

But that alone does not make true greatness or anything approaching true greatness. It is only the foundation for it, and it is the existence of institutions such as this, above all the existence of institutions turning out citizens of the type which I know you turn out, that stands as one of the really great assets of which a nation can speak when it claims true greatness. From this institution you will send out

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PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT IN SAN FRANCISCO

The President delivered an eloquent speech at the dedication of the Monument commemorating the Manila Naval Victory.

From Stereograph, copyright by Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.

THE PRESIDENT AND THE ENGINEER

President Roosevelt has a great admiration for railroad men. During his trips he frequently rides in the engine and the above picture shows him about to step into the cab at Redlands, California.

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THE CELESTIAL DRAGON

The reception to President Roosevelt at Los Angeles, in which the Chinese took an active part, was extremely enthusiastic.

From Stereograph, copyright by Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT IN CALIFORNIA

In the above photograph, the President and escorts are shown leaving the home of Mrs. James A. Garfield, in Pasadena.

scholars, and it is a great and fine thing to send out scholars to add to the sum of productive scholarship.

To do that is to take your part in doing one of the great duties of civilization; but you will do more than that, for greater than the school is the man, and you will send forth men, men who will scorn what is base and ignoble, men of high ideals who yet have the robust sense necessary to allow for the achievement of the high ideal by practical methods. It was also a sage who said that it was easier to be a harmless dove than a wise serpent.

THE PRODUCTION OF CITIZENSHIP

Now, the aim in production of citizenship must not be merely the production of harmless citizenship. Of course it is essential that you should not harm your fellows, but if after you are through with life all that can be truthfully said of you is that you did not do any harm it must also be truthfully added that you did no particular good.

Remember that the commandment had the two sides, to be harmless as doves and wise as serpents; to be moral in the highest and broadest sense of the word; to have the morality that does and fears, the morality that can suffer and the morality that can achieve results; to have that, and coupled with it to have the energy, the power to accomplish things which every good citizen must have if his citizenship is to be of real value to the community. Dr. Judson said in his address to-day that what we need—the things that we need are elemental.

We need to produce, not genius, not brilliancy, but the homely, commonplace, elemental virtues. The reason we won in 1776, the reason that in the great trial from 1861 to 1865 this nation rang true metal was because the average citizen had in him the stuff out of which good citizenship has been made from time immemorial, because he had in him courage, honesty, common sense.

Brilliancy and genius? Yes, if we can have them in addition to the other virtues. If not, if brilliant genius comes without the accompaniment of the substantial qualities of character and soul, then it is a menace to the nation.

If it comes in addition to those qualities, then, of course, we get the great general leader, we get the Lincoln, we get the man who can do more than any common man can. But without it much can be done. The men who carried musket and saber in the armies of the East and the West through the four grim years which at last saw the sun of peace rise at Appomattox had only the ordinary qualities, but they were pretty good ordinary qualities.

They were the qualities which, when possessed as those men possessed them, made in their sum what we call heroism, and what those men had need to have in time of war we must have in time of peace, if we are to make this nation what she

shall ultimately become, if we are to make this nation in very fact the great republic, the greatest power upon which the sun has ever shone. And no one quality is enough.

"FIRST OF ALL HONESTY"

First of all, honesty, and again remember I am using the word in its broadest signification, honesty, decency, clean living at home, clean living abroad, fair dealing in one's own family, fair dealing by the public.

And honesty is not enough. If a man is never so honest, but is timid, there is nothing to be done with him. In the Civil War you needed patriotism in the soldier, but if the soldier had patriotism, yet felt compelled to run away, you could not win the fight with him. Together with honesty you must have the second of the virile virtues, courage; courage to dare, courage to stand against the wrong and to fight aggressively and vigorously for the right.

And if you have only honesty and courage you may yet be an entirely worthless citizen. An honest and valiant fool has but a small place of usefulness in the body politic. With honesty, with courage, must go common sense; ability to work with your fellows, ability when you go out of the academic training, among those who will accept your leadership on just one consideration, and that is if you show yourself in the rough work of actual life fit and able to lead, and only so.

You need honesty, you need courage and you need common sense. Above all, you need it in the work to be done in the building the corner stone of which we laid to-day, the law school out of which are to come the men who at the bar and on the bench make and construct, and in construing make the laws of this country, the men who must teach by their actions to all our people that this is in fact essentially a government of orderly liberty under the law.

NO COUNTERFEIT SHOW OF HOMAGE

The main feature of President Roosevelt's visit in Chicago was his celebrated speech on the Monroe Doctrine at the Auditorium, Thursday evening, April 2d. At 6:30 o'clock, a dinner was tendered the President in the banquet hall of the hotel, and in spite of the fact that it figured upon the day as a very informal affair, it was a most brilliant function. When, about two hours later, the familiar form of President Roosevelt appeared upon the stage of the Auditorium Theater there was a roar of welcome from the audience of six thousand persons that had assembled to hear him. It was no

counterfeit show of homage. It seemed to bear the stamp of Western style—the open-hearted, frank and loyal appreciation of Americans for a typical American president. When the President began to speak, his listeners showed themselves heartily in sympathy with him from the start. Each utterance, emphatic and forcible, as he made all his strong sentences, brought its approval with vigorous applause. When he referred to the Monroe Doctrine in his opening sentences, the audience told him, by its cheers, that he had their approbation. When he said he knew the people by the Great Lakes believed in the Monroe Doctrine and thought it should be enforced, the crowd cheered again. From this time on the sledge-hammer blows of his sentences, punctuated by the emphatic forefinger of his right hand, or the doubled fist as he shook it to emphasize his sharp utterances, were applauded until it seemed as though every sentence was receiving the approval of the crowd. The President spoke as follows:

THE MONROE DOCTRINE

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: To-day I wish to speak to you, not merely about the Monroe Doctrine, but about our entire position in the Western Hemisphere—a position so peculiar and predominant that out of it has grown the acceptance of the Monroe Doctrine as a cardinal feature of our foreign policy; and in particular I wish to point out what has been done during the lifetime of the last Congress to make good our position in accordance with this historic policy.

Ever since the time when we definitely extended our boundaries westward to the Pacific and southward to the Gulf, since the time when the old Spanish and Portuguese colonies to the south of us asserted their independence, our nation has insisted that because of its primacy in strength among the nations of the Western Hemisphere it has certain duties and responsibilities which oblige it to take a leading part thereon. We hold that our interests in this hemisphere are greater than those of any European power possibly can be, and that our duty to ourselves and to the weaker republics who are our neighbors requires us to see that none of the great military powers from across the seas shall encroach upon the territory of the American republics or acquire control thereover.

This policy, therefore, not only forbids us to acquiesce in such territorial acquisition, but also causes us to object to the acquirement of a control which would in its effect be equal to territorial aggrandizement. This is why the United States has steadily believed that the construction of the great isthmian canal, the building of which is to stand as the greatest material feat of the twentieth century—greater than any similar feat in any preceding century—should be done by no foreign nation, but by ourselves. The canal must of necessity go through the territory of one of our smaller sister republics We have been scrupulously careful to abstain from perpetrating any wrong upon any of these republics in this matter. We do not wish to interfere with their rights in the least, but while carefully safeguarding them, to build the canal ourselves under provisions which will enable us, if necessary, to police and protect it, and to guarantee its neutrality, we being the sole guarantor. Our intention was steadfast; we desired action taken so that the canal could always be used by us in time of peace and war alike, and in time of war could never be used to our detriment by any nation which was hostile to us. Such action, by the circumstances surrounding it, was necessarily for the benefit and not to the detriment of the adjacent American republics.

MEMORABLE TRIUMPH OF AMERICAN DIPLOMACY

After considerably more than half of a century these objects have been exactly fulfilled by the legislation and treaties of the last two years. Two years ago we were no further advanced toward the construction of the isthmian canal on our terms than we had been during the preceding eighty years. By the Hay-Pauncefote treaty, ratified in December, 1901, an old treaty with Great Britain, which had been held to stand in the way, was abrogated and it was agreed that the canal should be constructed under the auspices of the Government of the United States, and that this Government should have the exclusive right to regulate and manage it, becoming the sole guarantor of its neutrality.

It was expressly stipulated, furthermore, that this guaranty of neutrality should not prevent the United States from taking any measures which it found necessary in order to secure by its own forces the defense of the United States and the maintenance of public order. Immediately following this treaty Congress passed a law under which the President was authorized to endeavor to secure a treaty for acquiring the right to finish the construction of, and to operate, the Panama Canal, which had already been begun in the territory of Colombia by a French company. The rights of this company were accordingly obtained and a treaty negotiated with the Republic of Colombia. This treaty has just been ratified by the Senate. It reserves all of Colombia's rights, while guaranteeing all of our own and those of neutral nations, and specifically permits us to take any and all

measures for the defense of the canal, and for the preservation of our interests, whenever in our judgment an exigency may arise which calls for action on our part. In other words, these two treaties, and the legislation to carry them out, have resulted in our obtaining on exactly the terms we desired the rights and privileges which we had so long sought in vain. These treaties are among the most important that we have ever negotiated in their effects upon the future welfare of this country, and mark a memorable triumph of American diplomacy—one of those fortunate triumphs, moreover, which redound to the benefit of the entire world.

About the same time trouble arose in connection with the Republic of Venezuela because of certain wrongs alleged to have been committed, and debts overdue, by this republic to citizens of various foreign powers, notably England, Germany, and Italy. After failure to reach an agreement, these powers began a blockade of the Venezuelan coast and a condition of quasi-war ensued. The concern of our government was of course not to interfere needlessly in any quarrel so far as it did not touch our interests or our honor, and not to take the attitude of protecting from coercion any power unless we were willing to espouse the quarrel of that power, but to keep an attitude of watchful vigilance and see that there was no infringement of the Monroe Doctrine—no acquirement of territorial rights by a European power at the expense of a weak sister republic—whether this acquisition might take the shape of an outright and avowed seizure of territory or of the exercise of control which would in effect be equivalent to such seizure. This attitude was expressed in the two following published memoranda, the first being the letter addressed by the Secretary of State to the German Ambassador, the second the conversation with the Secretary of State reported by the British Ambassador:

LETTER TO THE GERMAN AMBASSADOR

Department of State,
Washington, December 16, 1901.

His Excellency, Dr. von Holleben, etc.:

Dear Excellency: I enclose a memorandum by way of reply to that which you did me the honor to leave with me on Saturday, and am, as ever,

Faithfully yours, JOHN HAY.

THE MEMORANDUM

The President, in his message of the 3d of December, 1901, used the following language.

"The Monroe Doctrine is a declaration that there must be no territorial aggrandizement by any non-American power at the expense of any American power on American soil. It is in no wise intended as hostile to any nation in the Old World."

The President further said:

"This doctrine has nothing to do with the commercial relations of any American power, save that it in truth allows each of them to form such as it desires. . . . . We do not guarantee any state against punishment if it misconducts itself, provided that punishment does not take the form of the acquisition of territory by any non-American power."

His Excellency, the German Ambassador, on his recent return from Berlin, conveyed personally to the President the assurance of the German Emperor that His Majesty's government had no purpose or intention to make even the smallest acquisition of territory on the South American continent or the lands adjacent. This voluntary and friendly declaration was afterwards repeated to the Secretary of State, and was received by the President and the people of the United States in the frank and cordial spirit in which it was offered. In the memorandum of the 11th of December, His Excellency, the German Ambassador, repeats these asssurances as follows:

"We declare especially that under no circumstances do we consider in our proceedings the acquisition or the permanent occupation of Venezuelan territory."

In the said memorandum of the 11th of December the German government informs that of the United States that it has certain just claims for money and for damages wrongfully withheld from German subjects by the government of Venezuela, and that it proposes to take certain coercive measures described in the memorandum to enforce the payment of these just claims.

The President of the United States, appreciating the courtesy of the German government in making him acquainted with the state of affairs referred to, and not regarding himself as called upon to enter into the consideration of the claims in question, believes that no measures will be taken in this matter by the agents of the German government which are not in accordance with the well-known purpose, above set forth, of his Majesty the German Emperor.

SIR MICHAEL HERBERT TO THE MARQUIS OF LANSDOWNE

"Washington, November 13, 1902.

"I communicated to Mr. Hay this morning the substance of Your Lordship's telegram of the 11th instant.

"His Excellency stated in reply, that the United States government, although they regretted that European powers should use force against Central and South American countries, could not object to their taking steps to obtain redress for injuries suffered by their subjects, provided that no acquisition of territory was contemplated."

Both powers assured us in explicit terms that there was not the slightest intention on their part to violate the principles of the Monroe Doctrine, and this assurance was kept with an honorable good faith which merits full acknowledgment on our part. At the same time, the existence of hostilities in a region so near our own borders was fraught with such possibilities of danger in the future that it was obviously no less our duty to ourselves than our duty to humanity to endeavor to put an end to that. Accordingly, by an offer of our good services in a spirit of frank friendliness to all the parties concerned, a spirit in which they quickly and cordially responded, we secured a resumption of peace—the contending parties agreeing that the matters which they could not settle among themselves should be referred to The Hague Tribunal for settlement. The United States had most fortunately already been able to set an example to other nations by utilizing the great possibilities for good contained in The Hague Tribunal, a question at issue between ourselves and the Republic of Mexico being the first submitted to this international court of arbitration.

The terms which we have secured as those under which the isthmian canal is to be built, and the course of events in the Venezuela matter, have shown not merely the ever-growing influence of the United States in the Western Hemisphere, but also, I think I may safely say, have exemplified the firm purpose of the United States that its growth and influence and power shall redound not to the harm but to the benefit of our sister republics whose strength is less. Our growth, therefore, is beneficial to human kind in general. We do not intend to assume any position which can give just offense to our neighbors. Our adherence to the rule of human right is not merely profession. The history of our dealings with Cuba shows that we reduce it to performance.

"SPEAK SOFTLY AND CARRY A BIG STICK"

The Monroe Doctrine is not international law, and though I think one day it may become such, this is not necessary as long as it remains a cardinal feature of our foreign policy and as long as we possess both the will and the strength to make it effective. This last point, my fellow-citizens, is all-important, and is one which as a people we can never afford to forget. I believe in the Monroe Doctrine with all my heart and soul; I am convinced that the immense majority of our fellow-countrymen so believe in it; but I would infinitely prefer to see us abandon it than to see us put it forward and bluster about it, and yet fail to build up the efficient fighting strength which in the last resort can alone make it respected by any strong foreign power whose interest it may ever happen to be to violate it.

Boasting and blustering are as objectionable among nations as among individuals, and the public men of a great nation owe it to their sense of national

self-respect to speak courteously of foreign powers, just as a brave and self-respecting man treats all around him courteously. But though to boast is bad, and causelessly to insult another, worse; yet worse than all is it to be guilty of boasting, even without insult, and when called to the proof to be unable to make such boasting good. There is a homely old adage which runs: "Speak softly and carry a big stick; you will go far." If the American nation will speak softly, and yet build, and keep at a pitch of the highest training, a thoroughly efficient navy, the Monroe Doctrine will go far. I ask you to think over this. If you do, you will come to the conclusion that it is mere plain common sense, so obviously sound that only the blind can fail to see its truth and only the weakest and most irresolute can fail to desire to put it into force.

THE REAL EFFICIENCY OF A NAVY

In the last two years, I am happy to say, we have taken long strides in advance as regards our navy. The last Congress, in addition to smaller vessels, provided nine of those formidable fighting ships upon which the real efficiency of any navy in war ultimately depends. It provided, moreover, for the necessary addition of officers and enlisted men to make the ships worth having. Meanwhile the Navy Department has seen to it that our ships have been constantly exercised at sea, with the great guns, and in maneuvers, so that their efficiency as fighting units, both individually and when acting together, has been steadily improved. Remember that all of this is necessary. A warship is a huge bit of mechanism, well-nigh as delicate and complicated as it is formidable. It takes years to build it. It takes years to teach the officers and men how to handle it to good advantage. It is an absolute impossibility to improvise a navy at the outset of war. No recent war between any two nations has lasted as long as it takes to build a battleship; and it is just as impossible to improvise the officers or the crews as to improvise the navy.

To lay up a battleship and only send it afloat at the outset of a war, with a raw crew and untried officers, would be not merely a folly but a crime, for it would invite both disaster and disgrace. The navy which so quickly decided in our favor the war in 1898 had been built and made efficient during the preceding fifteen years. The ships that triumphed off Manila and Santiago had been built under previous administrations with money appropriated by Congresses. The officers and the men did their duty so well because they had already been trained to it by long sea service. All honor to the gallant officers and gallant men who actually did the fighting; but remember, too, to honor the public men, the shipwrights and steel-workers, the owners of the shipyards and armor plants, to whose united foresight and exertion we owe it that in 1898 we had craft so good, guns so excellent, and American seamen of so high a type in the conning towers, in the gun turrets, and in

the engine rooms. It is too late to prepare for war when war has come; and if we only prepare sufficiently no war will ever come. We wish a powerful and efficient navy, not for purposes of war, but as the surest guaranty of peace. If we have such a navy—if we keep on building it up—we may rest assured that there is but the smallest chance that trouble will ever come to this nation; and we may likewise rest assured that no foreign power will ever quarrel with us about the Monroe Doctrine.

THE ARRIVAL AT MADISON

At midnight the President left for Madison, Wis., where he arrived at four o'clock the following morning. He remained on the train resting until nine o'clock, when he was met by a party of State, legislative and city officials, headed by Governor La Follette, and escorted to the Capitol. Here, in the Assembly Hall, he addressed the Legislature in joint session, and several hundred guests invited by card. The President then made his second speech to a large crowd, not able for lack of room to gain admittance into the building, from a stand erected at the east entrance. In his address he said he was glad to come to Wisconsin, because of the fact that there the people had put into practice to a peculiar degree the principle of "All men up, rather than some men down." He continued:

We are passing through a period of great material prosperity. There will be ups and downs in that prosperity, but, in the long run, the tide will go on, if we but prove true to ourselves and to the beliefs of our forefathers. To win we must be able to combine in a proper degree the spirit of individualism and the spirit of coöperation. Each man must work for himself. If he cannot support himself he will be but a drag on all mankind, but each man must work for common good. There is not a man here who does not at times need to have a helping hand extended to him, and shame on the brother who will not extend that helping hand.

At the conclusion of his second speech the President was escorted to the executive office, where for several minutes he held a reception for members of the Legislature and their wives. The reception concluded, he returned to the special

train which left for Milwaukee at eleven o'clock, arriving at Waukesha at 12:30 p. m., where several thousand people gave him greeting. President Roosevelt spoke as follows:

THE PRESIDENT'S WAUKESHA SPEECH

Gentlemen and Ladies, my Fellow-citizens of Wisconsin: You are men and women of Wisconsin, but you are men and women of America first. I am glad of having the chance of saying a few words to you to-day. I believe with all my heart in this nation playing its part manfully and well. I believe that we are now, at the outset of the twentieth century, face to face with great world problems; that we cannot help playing the part of a great world power; that all we can decide is whether we will play it well or ill. I do not want to see us shrink from any least bit of duty. We have not only taken during the past five years a position of even greater importance in this Western Hemisphere than ever before, but we have taken a position of great importance even in the furthest Orient, in that furthest West which is the immemorial East. We must hold our own. If we show ourselves weaklings we will earn the contempt of mankind, and—what is of far more consequence—our own contempt; but I would like to impress upon every public man, upon every writer in the press, the fact that strength should go hand in hand with courtesy, with scrupulous regard in word and deed, not only for the rights, but for the feelings of other nations. I want to see a man able to hold his own. I have no respect for the man that will put up with injustice. If a man will not take his part, the part is not worth taking. That is true. On the other hand I have a hearty contempt for the man who is always walking about waiting to pick a quarrel, and above all, wanting to say something unpleasant about some one else. He is not an agreeable character anywhere; and the fact that he talks loud does not necessarily mean that he fights hard either. Sometimes you will see a man who will talk loud and fight hard; but he does not fight hard because he talks loud, but in spite of it. I want the same thing to be true of us as a nation. I am always sorry whenever I see any reflection that seems to come upon any friendly nation. To write or to say anything unkind, unjust, or inconsiderate about any foreign nation does not do us any good, and does not help us toward holding our own if ever the need should arise to hold our own. I am sure that you will not misunderstand me; I am sure that it is needless for me to say that I do not believe the United States should ever suffer a wrong. I should be the first to ask that we resent a wrong from the strong, just as I should be the first to insist that we do not wrong the weak. As a nation, if we are to be true to our past, we must steadfastly keep these two positions—to submit to no injury by the strong and to inflict no

injury on the weak. It is not at all necessary to say disagreeable things about the strong in order to impress them with the fact that we do not intend to submit to injury. Keep our navy up to the highest degree of efficiency; have good ships, and enough of them; have the officers and the enlisted men on them trained to handle them, so that in the future the American navy shall rise level, whenever the need comes, to the standard it has set in the past. Keep in our hearts the rugged, manly virtues, which have made our people formidable as foes and valuable as friends throughout the century and a quarter of our national life. Do all that; and having done it, remember that it is a sensible thing to speak courteously of others.

"WE WANT THE FRIENDSHIP OF MANKIND"

I believe in the Monroe Doctrine. I shall try to see that this nation lives up to it; and as long as I am President it will be lived up to. But I do not intend to make the doctrine an excuse or a justification for being unpleasant to other powers, for speaking ill of other powers. We want the friendship of mankind. We want to get on well with the other nations of mankind, with the small nations and with the big nations. We want so to carry ourselves that if (which I think most unlikely) any quarrel should arise, it would be evident that it was not a quarrel of our own seeking, but one that was forced on us. If it is forced on us, I know you too well not to know that you will stand up to it if the need comes; but you will stand up to it all the better if you have not blustered or spoken ill of other nations in advance. We want friendship; we want peace. We wish well to the nations of mankind. We look with joy at any prosperity of theirs, we wish them success, not failure. We rejoice as mankind moves forward over the whole earth. Each nation has its own difficulties. We have difficulties enough at home. Let us improve ourselves, lifting what needs to be lifted here, and let others do their own; let us attend to our own, keep our own hearthstone swept and in order. Do not shirk any duty; do not shirk any difficulty that is forced upon us, but do not invite it by foolish language. Do not assume a quarrelsome and unpleasant attitude towards other people. Let the friendly expression of foreign powers be accepted as tokens of their sincere good-will, and reflecting their real sentiments, and let us avoid any language on our part which might tend to turn their good-will into ill-will. All that is mere common sense; the kind of common sense that we apply in our own lives, man to man, neighbor to neighbor; and remember that substantially what is true among nations, is true on a small scale among ourselves. The man who is a weakling, who is a coward, we all despise, and we ought to despise him. If a man cannot do his own work and take his own part, he does not count; and I have no patience with those who would have the United States unable to take its own part, to do its work in the world. But remember that a loose tongue is just as unfortunate

an accompaniment for a nation as for an individual. The man who talks ill of his neighbors, the man who invites trouble for himself and them, is a nuisance. The stronger, the more self-confident the nation is, the more carefully it should guard its speech as well as its action, and should make it a point, in the interest of its own self-respect, to see that it does not say what it cannot make good, that it avoids giving needless offense, that it shows genuinely and sincerely its desire for friendship with the rest of mankind, but that it keeps itself in shape to make its weight felt should the need arise.

That is in substance my theory of what our foreign policy should be. Let us not boast, not insult any one, but make up our minds coolly what it is necessary to say, say it, and then stand to it, whatever the consequences may be.

ARRIVAL AT MILWAUKEE

The President's special arrived at Milwaukee at 2 p. m., where a reception committee, headed by Mayor David S. Rose, greeted the Chief Executive. Carriages were taken and a drive to the Soldiers' Home followed, where two thousand veterans were reviewed by the President, who afterwards addressed them briefly. On his return to the city, ten thousand people greeted Mr. Roosevelt in the Exposition Building; a chorus of six hundred voices sang national airs and, after Mayor Rose had given an address of welcome, the President made a short speech, in the course of which he said, calling attention to the many nationalities present:

Woe will beset this country if we draw lines of distinction between class and class, and free and free, or along any other lines save those which divide good citizenship from bad citizenship.

Following these exercises, the presidential party was tendered a reception by the Deutscher Club. In response to the toast by the president, Mr. Roosevelt said he would endeavor during his administration to preserve peace at home and abroad. At the Milwaukee Press Club the President was given a certificate of honorary membership; he also inscribed his name with chalk on one of the panels of the wainscoting,

where appeared the names of many noted men. The same evening a dinner was given in his honor by the Merchants and Manufacturers Association, in the Plankinton House, where he delivered his celebrated address on "Trusts." It follows:

THE CONTROL AND REGULATION OF TRUSTS

Mr. Toastmaster, Gentlemen: To-day I wish to speak to you on the question of the control and regulation of those great corporations which are popularly, although rather vaguely, known as trusts; dealing mostly with what has actually been accomplished in the way of legislation and in the way of enforcement of legislation during the past eighteen months, the period covering the two sessions of the Fifty-seventh Congress. At the outset I shall ask you to remember that I do not approach the subject either from the standpoint of those who speak of themselves as anti-trust or anti-corporation people, nor yet from the standpoint of those who are fond of denying the existence of evils in the trusts, or who apparently proceed upon the assumption that if a corporation is large enough it can do no wrong.

I think I speak for the great majority of the American people when I say that we are not in the least against wealth as such, whether individual or corporate; that we merely desire to see any abuse of corporate or combined wealth corrected and remedied; that we do not desire the abolition or destruction of big corporations, but, on the contrary, recognize them as being in many cases efficient economic instruments, the result of an inevitable process of economic evolution, and only desire to see them regulated and controlled so far as may be necessary to subserve the public good. We should be false to the historic principles of our government if we discriminated, either by legislation or administration, either for or against a man because of either his wealth or his poverty. There is no proper place in our society either for the rich man who uses the power conferred by his riches to enable him to oppress and wrong his neighbors, nor yet for the demagogic agitator who, instead of attacking abuses as all abuses should be attacked wherever found, attacks property, attacks prosperity, attacks men of wealth, as such, whether they be good or bad, attacks corporations whether they do well or ill, and seeks, in a spirit of ignorant rancor, to overthrow the very foundations upon which rest our national well-being.

In consequence of the extraordinary industrial changes of the last half-century and notably of the last two or three decades, changes due mainly to the rapidity and complexity of our industrial growth, we are confronted with problems which in their present shape were unknown to our forefathers. Our great prosperity, with

its accompanying concentration of population and of wealth, its extreme specialization of faculties, and its development of giant industrial leaders, has brought much good and some evil, and it is as foolish to ignore the good as willfully to blind ourselves to the evil.

The evil has been partly the inevitable accompaniment of the social changes, and where this is the case it can be cured neither by law nor by the administration of the law, the only remedy lying in the slow change of character and of economic environment. But for a portion of the evil, at least, we think that remedies can be found. We know well the danger of false remedies, and we are against all violent, radical and unwise change. But we believe that by proceeding slowly, yet resolutely, with good sense and moderation, and also with a firm determination not to be swerved from our course either by foolish clamor or by any base or sinister influence, we can accomplish much for the betterment of conditions. Nearly two years ago, speaking at the State Fair in Minnesota, I said:

"WE GO UP OR DOWN TOGETHER"

"It is probably true that the large majority of the fortunes that now exist in this country have been amassed, not by injuring our people, but as an incident to the conferring of great benefits upon the community, and this, no matter what may have been the conscious purpose of those amassing them. There is but the scantiest justification for most of the outcry against the men of wealth *as such;* and it ought to be unnecessary to state that any appeal which directly or indirectly leads to suspicion and hatred among ourselves, which tends to limit opportunity, and therefore to shut the door of success against poor men of talent, and, finally, which entails the possibility of lawlessness and violence, is an attack upon the fundamental principles of American citizenship. Our interests are at bottom common; in the long run we go up or down together. Yet more and more it is evident that the State, and if necessary the Nation, has got to possess the right of supervision and control as regards the great corporations which are its creatures; particularly as regards the great business combinations which derive a portion of their importance from the existence of some monopolistic tendency. The right should be exercised with caution and self-restraint; but it should exist, so that it may be invoked if the need arises."

Last fall, in speaking at Cincinnati, I said:

"The necessary supervision and control, in which I firmly believe as the only method of eliminating the real evils of the trusts, must come through wisely and cautiously framed legislation, which shall aim in the first place to give definite control to some sovereign over the great corporations, and which shall be followed, when once this power has been conferred, by a system giving to the government

the full knowledge which is the essential for satisfactory action. Then, when this knowledge—one of the essential features of which is proper publicity—has been gained, what further steps of any kind are necessary can be taken with the confidence born of the possession of power, and we need knowledge. . . . . Such legislation—whether obtainable only after a constitutional amendment—should provide for a reasonable supervision, the most prominent feature of which at first should be publicity—that is, the making public, both to the Government authorities and to the people at large, the essential facts in which the public is concerned. This would give us exact knowledge of many points which are now not only in doubt but the subject of fierce controversy. Moreover, the mere fact of the publication would cure some very grave evils, for the light of day is a detriment to wrong-doing. It would doubtless disclose other evils with which, for the time being, we could devise no way to grapple. Finally, it would disclose others which could be grappled with and cured by further legislative action."

THE PROPER SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM

In my message to Congress for 1901 I said:

"In the interest of the whole people the Nation should, without interfering with the power of the States in the matter, itself also assume power of supervision and regulation over all corporations doing an interstate business."

The views thus expressed have now received effect by the wise, conservative, and yet far-reaching legislation enacted by Congress at its last session. In its wisdom Congress enacted the very important law providing a Department of Commerce and Labor, and further providing therein under the Secretary of Commerce and Labor for a Commissioner of Corporations, charged with the duty of supervision of, and of making intelligent investigation into, the organization and conduct of corporations engaged in interstate commerce. His powers to expose illegal or hurtful practices and to obtain all information needful for the purpose of further intelligent legislation seem adequate; and the publicity justifiable and proper for public purposes is satisfactorily guaranteed. The law was passed at the very end of the session of Congress. Owing to the lateness of its passage Congress was not able to provide proper equipment for the new Department; and the first few months must necessarily be spent in the work of organization, and the first investigation must necessarily be of a tentative character. The satisfactory development of such a system requires time and great labor. Those who are intrusted with the administration of the new law will assuredly administer it in a spirit of absolute fairness and justice and of entire fearlessness, with the firm purpose not to hurt any corporation which may be guilty of illegal practices, or the methods of which may make it a menace to the public welfare. Some

substantial good will be done in the immediate future; and as the Department gets fairly to work under the law an ever larger vista for good work will be opened along the lines indicated. The enactment of this law is one of the most significant contributions which have been made in our time toward the proper solution of the problem of the relations to the people of the great corporate combinations.

But much though this is, it is only a part of what has been done in the effort to ascertain and correct improper trust or monopolistic practices. Some eighteen months ago the Industrial Commission, an able and non-partisan body, reported to Congress the result of their investigations. One of the most important of their conclusions was that discriminations in freight rates and facilities were granted favored shippers by the railroads and that these discriminations clearly tended toward the control of production and prices in many fields of business by large combinations.

UNLAWFUL AGREEMENTS ENTERED INTO

That this conclusion was justifiable was shown by the disclosures in the investigation of railroad methods pursued in the fall and winter of 1901-1902. It was then shown that certain trunk lines had entered into unlawful agreements as to the transportation of food products from the West to the Atlantic seaboard, giving a few favored shippers rates much below the tariff charges imposed upon the smaller dealers and the general public. These unjust practices had prevailed to such an extent and for so long a time that many of the smaller shippers had been driven out of business, until practically one buyer of grain on each railway system had been able by his illegal advantages to secure a monopoly on the line with which his secret compact was made; this monopoly enabling him to fix the price to both producer and consumer. Many of the great packing-house concerns were shown to be in combination with each other and with most of the great railway lines, whereby they enjoyed large secret concessions in rates and thus obtained a practical monopoly of the fresh and cured-meat industry of the country. These fusions, though violative of the statute, had prevailed unchecked for so many years that they had become intrenched in and interwoven with the commercial life of certain large distributing localities, although this was of course at the expense of the vast body of law-abiding merchants, the general public, and particularly of unfavored localities.

THE WISE COURSE TO FOLLOW

Under those circumstances it was a serious problem to determine the wise course to follow in vitalizing a law which had in part become obsolete or proved incapable of enforcement. Of what the Attorney-General did in enforcing it I shall speak later. The decisions of the courts upon the law had betrayed

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THE PRESIDENT IN NEW MEXICO

At Albuquerque, President Roosevelt made a speech dwelling mostly on the importance of irrigation in the development of the state.

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THE PRESIDENT'S ARRIVAL AT SANTA CRUZ

In California the President's pathway was literally strewn with flowers. The above picture shows the arrival of the presidential train at Santa Cruz

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PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT IN KANSAS

The nation's chief executive was given a rousing welcome in Kansas. The above picture shows him addressing the citizens of Manhattan.

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AT GRAND CANYON, ARIZONA

President Roosevelt in speaking of the wonders of the Canyon, urged the people of Arizona to preserve the grandeur and sublimity of this masterpiece of nature.

weaknesses and imperfections, some of them so serious as to render abortive efforts to apply any effective remedy for the existing evils.

It is clear that corporations created for quasi-public purposes, clothed for that reason with the ultimate power of the State to take private property against the will of the owner, hold their corporate powers as carriers in trust for the fairly impartial service of all the public. Favoritism in the use of such powers, unjustly enriching some and unjustly impoverishing others, discriminating in favor of some places and against others, is palpably violative of plain principles of justice. Such a practice unchecked is hurtful in many ways. Congress, having had its attention drawn to the matter, enacted a most important anti-rebate law, which greatly strengthens the interstate-commerce law. This new law prohibits under adequate penalties the giving and as well the demanding or receiving of such preferences, and provides the preventive remedy of injunction. The vigorous administration of this law—and it will be enforced—will, it is hoped, afford a substantial remedy for certain trust evils which have attracted public attention and have created public unrest.

THE MERGER DECISION

This law represents a noteworthy and important advance toward just and effective regulation of transportation. Moreover, its passage has been supplemented by the enactment of a law to expedite the hearing of actions of public moment under the anti-trust act, known as the Sherman law, and under the act to regulate commerce, at the request of the Attorney-General; and furthermore, additional funds have been appointed to be expended under the direction of the Attorney-General in the enforcement of these laws.

All of this represents a great and substantial advance in legislation. But more important even than legislation is the administration of the law, and I ask your attention for a moment to the way in which the law has been administered by the profound jurist and fearless public servant who now occupies the position of Attorney-General, Mr. Knox. The constitution enjoins upon the president that he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and under this provision the Attorney-General formulated a policy which was, in effect, nothing but the rigid enforcement, by suits managed with consummate skill and ability, both of the anti-trust law and of the imperfect provisions of the act to regulate commerce. The first step taken was the prosecution of fourteen suits against the principal railroads of the Middle West, restraining them by injunction from further violations of either of the laws in question.

About the same time the case against the Northern Securities Company was initiated. This was a corporation organized under the laws of the State of New Jersey, with a capital of four hundred million dollars, the alleged purpose being to

control the Great Northern and the Northern Pacific railroad companies, two parallel and competing lines extending across the northern tier of States from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean. Whatever the purpose, its consummation would have resulted in the control of the two great railway systems upon which the people of the Northwestern States were so largely dependent for their supplies and to get their products to market, being practically merged into the New Jersey corporation. The proposition that these independent systems of railroads should be merged under a single control alarmed the people of the States concerned, lest they be subjected to what they deemed a monopoly of interstate transportation and the suppression of competition. The governors of the States most deeply affected held a meeting to consider how to prevent the merger becoming effective, and passed resolutions calling upon the national government to enforce the anti-trust laws against the alleged combination. When these resolutions were referred to the Attorney-General for consideration and advice, he reported that in his opinion the Northern Securities Company and its control of the railroads mentioned was a combination in restraint of trade and was attempting a monopoly in violation of the national anti-trust law. Thereupon a suit in equity, which is now pending, was begun by the government to test the validity of this transaction under the Sherman law.

AN OFFICIAL INVESTIGATION

At nearly the same time the disclosures respecting the secret rebates enjoyed by the great packing-house companies, coupled with the very high price of meats, led the Attorney-General to direct an investigation into the methods of the so-called beef trust. The result was that he filed bills for injunction against six of the principal packing-house companies, and restrained them from combining and agreeing upon prices at which they would sell their products in States other than those in which their meats were prepared for the market. Writs of injunction were issued accordingly, and since then, after full argument, the United States Court has made the injunction perpetual.

The cotton interests of the South, including growers, buyers, and shippers, made complaint that they were suffering great injury in their business from the methods of the Southern railroads in the handling and transportation of cotton. They alleged that these railroads, by combined action under a pooling arrangement to support their rate schedules, had denied to the shippers the right to elect over what roads their commodities should be shipped, and that by dividing upon a fixed basis the cotton crop of the South, all inducement to compete in rates for the transportation thereof was eliminated. Proceedings were instituted by the Attorney-General under the anti-trust law, which resulted in the destruction of the pool and in restoring to

the growers and shippers of the South the right to ship their products over any road they elected, thus removing the restraint upon the freedom of commerce.

In November, 1902, the Attorney-General directed that a bill for an injunction be filed in the United States Circuit Court at San Francisco against the Federal Salt Company—a corporation which had organized under the laws of an Eastern State, but had its main office and principal place of business in California—and against a number of other companies and persons constituting what was known as the salt trust. These injunctions were to restrain the execution of certain contracts between the Federal Salt Company and the other defendants, by which the latter agreed neither to import nor to buy or sell salt, except from and to the Federal Salt Company, and not to engage or assist in the production of salt west of the Mississippi River during the continuance of such contracts. As the result of these agreements the price of salt had been advanced about four hundred per cent. A temporary injunction order was obtained, which the defendants asked the court to modify on the ground that the anti-trust law had no application to contracts for purchases and sales within a State. The Circuit Court overruled this contention and sustained the government's position. This practically concluded the case, and it is understood that in consequence the Federal Salt Company is about to be dissolved and that no further contest will be made.

A SUM OF SUBSTANTIAL ACHIEVEMENT

The above is a brief outline of the most important steps, legislative and administrative, taken during the past eighteen months in the direction of solving, so far as at present it seems practicable by national legislation or administration to solve, what we call the trust problem. They represent a sum of very substantial achievement. They represent a successful effort to devise and apply real remedies; an effort which so far succeeded because it was made not only with resolute purpose and determination, but also in a spirit of common sense and justice, as far removed as possible from rancor, hysteria, and unworthy demagogic appeal. In the same spirit the laws will continue to be enforced. Not only is the legislation recently enacted effective, but in my judgment it was impracticable to attempt more. Nothing of value is to be expected from ceaseless agitation for radical and extreme legislation. The people may wisely, and with confidence, await the results which are reasonably to be expected from the impartial enforcement of the laws which have recently been placed upon the statute books. Legislation of a general and indiscriminate character would be sure to fail, either because it would involve all interests in a common ruin, or because it would not really reach any evil. We have endeavored to provide a discriminating adaptation of the remedy to the real mischief.

Many of the alleged remedies advocated are of the unpleasantly drastic type

which seeks to destroy the disease by killing the patient. Others are so obviously futile that it is somewhat difficult to treat them seriously or as being advanced in good faith. High among the latter I place the effort to reach the trust question by means of the tariff. You can, of course, put an end to the prosperity of the nation; but the price for such action seems high. The alternative is to do exactly what has been done during the life of the Congress which has just closed—that is, to endeavor, not to destroy corporations, but to regulate them with a view of doing away with whatever is of evil in them and of making them subserve the public use. The law is not to be administered in the interest of the poor man as such, nor yet in the interest of the rich man as such, but in the interest of the law-abiding man, rich or poor. We are no more against organizations of capital than against organizations of labor. We welcome both, demanding only that each shall do right and shall remember its duty to the Republic. Such a course we consider not merely a benefit to the poor man, but a benefit to the rich man. We do no man an injustice when we require him to obey the law. On the contrary, if he is a man whose safety and well-being depend in a peculiar degree upon the existence of the spirit of law and order, we are rendering him the greatest service when we require him to be himself an exemplar of that spirit.

CHAPTER XIV

WESTWARD HO!

Enthusiastic Crowds at Every Stopping Place—In Minneapolis and St. Paul —The Wage-Worker and the Tiller of the Soil—Through the Dakotas — The Philippine Policy — Yellowstone Park — The President in Nebraska—Across the State of Iowa.

The President reached St. Paul after a busy day traveling through Wisconsin and Minnesota, where he was greeted by enthusiastic throngs at every stopping place. As the presidential train pulled through the yards at the union depot, Battery A of the Minnesota National Guard, stationed on the opposite side of the river, fired the presidential salute, in which the engines in the yards and the strong lungs of the immense crowd joined. The committee, headed by Governor Van Sant, briefly welcomed the party, who were at once taken for a carriage drive through the down-town streets. At the capitol, the house and senate, in joint session, received the President with cheers. Previous to his arrival, Archbishop Ireland had delivered a brief and eloquent prayer for the prosperity of the nation and its chief executive, and as soon as the legislators were seated, after greeting President Roosevelt, the latter spoke at some length on "Good Citizenship."

RACE SUICIDE

A large platform had been erected at the east entrance of the capitol, where a crowd of many thousands awaited the President, who delivered a second address, following the gen-

eral lines of his previous speech to the legislators. He referred to his now famous letter on "Race Suicide," stating that while the letter had attracted much more attention than he imagined it would, yet he was glad of it; that he reaffirmed the sentiments he had therein expressed, and believed that the discussion which had been created would have a marked effect upon the race. We were, he said, by the amalgamation of foreign nationalities, the intermarriage of the sturdy emigrants who had reached our shores, evolving a new race—an American race.

A FAMILY OF SIXTY-ONE

While in St. Paul, President Roosevelt was presented, by Mayor R. A. Smith, with a picture of the family of J. P. Rhein, of Washington County, Minnesota, the picture including Mr. and Mrs. Rhein, their nine children, forty-eight grandchildren, and two great-grandchildren. All reside within fifty miles of the old homestead. When the President arrived at Sioux Falls, he wrote the following letter to Mayor Smith:

> Will you congratulate Mr. and Mrs. Rhein for me? I am proud of them and was pleased as possible with the pictures of their children and grandchildren. This is the stuff out of which we make good American citizens.
>
> Thanking you for your courtesy during my recent visit in St. Paul, I am
>
> Sincerely yours,
>
> THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

At the close of his speech the carriages were resumed and the President's party drove through a small part of the residence section, after which special electric cars conveyed them to Minneapolis. Thousands of persons marked the route of the cars that were bringing the distinguished guest from St. Paul, and a vast concourse of people assembled in the vicinity of the Nicollet Hotel to welcome him to Minneapolis. At the close of a magnificent banquet, the President left the hotel to

take his place in the drive to the Armory, where an immense audience awaited him. He was introduced by President Northrup of the Minnesota University and spoke as follows:

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S MINNEAPOLIS SPEECH

My Fellow-Citizens: At the special session of the Senate held in March the Cuban reciprocity treaty was ratified. When this treaty goes into effect it will confer substantial economic benefits alike upon Cuba, because of the widening of her market in the United States, and upon the United States, because of the equal widening and the progressive control it will give to our people in the Cuban market. This treaty is beneficial to both parties and justifies itself on several grounds. In the first place we offer to Cuba her natural market. We can confer upon her a benefit which no other nation can confer; and for the very reason that we have started her as an independent republic and that we are rich, prosperous, and powerful, it behooves us to stretch out a helping hand to our feebler younger sister. In the next place, it widens the market for our products, both the products of the farm and certain of our manufactures; and it is therefore in the interests of our farmers, manufacturers, merchants, and wage workers. Finally, the treaty was not merely warranted, but demanded, apart from all other considerations, by the enlightened consideration of our foreign policy. More and more in the future we must occupy a preponderant position in the waters and along the coasts in the regions south of us; not a position of control over the republics of the South, but of control of the military situation so as to avoid any possible complications in the future. Under the Platt amendment Cuba agreed to give us certain naval stations on her coast. The Navy Department decided that we needed but two, and we have specified where these two are to be. President Palma has concluded an agreement giving them to us—an agreement which the Cuban legislative body will doubtless ratify. In other words, the Republic of Cuba has assumed a special relation to our international political system, under which she gives us outposts of defense, and we are morally bound to extend to her in a degree the benefit of our own economic system. From every standpoint of wise and enlightened home and foreign policy the ratification of the Cuban treaty marked a step of substantial progress in the growth of our nation toward greatness at home and abroad.

Equally important was the action of the tariff upon products of the Philippines. We gave them a reduction of twenty-five per cent, and would have given them a reduction of twenty-five per cent more had it not been for the opposition, in the hurried closing days of the last session, of certain gentlemen who, by the way, have been representing themselves both as peculiarly solicitous for the interests of the

Philippine people and as special champions of the lowering of tariff duties. There is a distinctly humorous side to the fact that the reduction of duties which would benefit Cuba and the Philippines as well as ourselves, was antagonized chiefly by those who in theory have been fond of proclaiming themselves the advanced guardians of the oppressed nationalities in the islands affected and the ardent advocates of the reduction of duties generally, but who instantly took violent ground against the practical steps to accomplish either purpose.

Moreover, a law was enacted putting anthracite on the free list and completely removing the duties on all other kinds of coal for one year.

We are now in a condition of prosperity unparalleled, not merely in our own history, but in the history of any other nation. This prosperity is deep-rooted and stands on a firm basis because it is due to the fact that the average American has in him the stuff out of which victors are made in the great industrial contests of the present day, just as in the great military contests of the past; and because he is now able to use and develop his qualities to best advantage under our well-established economic system. We are winning headship among the nations of the world because our people are able to keep their high average of individual citizenship and to show their mastery in the hard, complex, pushing life of the age. There will be fluctuations from time to time in our prosperity, but it will continue to grow just so long as we keep up this high average of individual citizenship and permit it to work out its own salvation under proper economic legislation.

BASIS OF OUR TARIFF POLICY

The present phenomenal prosperity has been won under a tariff which was made in accordance with certain fixed and definite principles, the most important of which is an avowed determination to protect the interests of the American producer, business man, wage worker, and farmer alike. The general tariff policy, to which, without regard to changes in detail, I believe this country is irrevocably committed, is fundamentally based upon ample recognition of the difference between the cost of production—that is, the cost of labor—here and abroad, and of the need to see to it that our laws shall in no event afford advantage in our own market to foreign industries, to foreign capital over American capital, to foreign labor over our own labor. This country has and this country needs better-paid, better-educated, better-fed, better-clothed workingmen, of a higher type, than are to be found in any foreign country. It has and it needs a higher, more vigorous, and more prosperous type of tillers of the soil than is possessed by any other country. The business men, the merchants and manufacturers, and the managers of the transportation interests show the same superiority when compared with men of their type abroad. The events of the last few years have shown how skillfully the leaders of American indus-

try use in international business competition the mighty industrial weapons forged for them by the resources of our own country, the wisdom of our laws, and the skill, the inventive genius, and the administrative capacity of our people.

It is, of course, a mere truism to say that we want to use everything in our power to foster the welfare of our entire body politic. In other words, we need to treat the tariff as a business proposition, from the standpoint of the interests of the country as a whole, and not with reference to the temporary needs of any political party. It is almost as necessary that our policy should be stable as that it should be wise. A nation like ours could not long stand the ruinous policy of readjusting its business to radical changes in the tariff at short intervals, especially when, as now, owing to the immense extent and variety of our products, the tariff schedules carry rates of duty on thousands of different articles. Sweeping and violent changes in such a tariff, touching so vitally the interests of all of us, embracing agriculture, labor, manufactures, and commerce, would be disastrous in any event, and they would be fatal to our present well-being if approached on the theory that the principle of the protective tariff was to be abandoned. The business world, that is, the entire American world, cannot afford, if it has any regard for its own welfare, even to consider the advisability of abandoning the present system.

MUST BE ADAPTED TO CHANGED CONDITIONS

Yet, on the other hand, where the industrial conditions so frequently change, as with us must of necessity be the case, it is a matter of prime importance that we should be able from time to time to adapt our economic policy to the changed conditions. Our aim should be to preserve the policy of a protective tariff, in which the nation as a whole has acquiesced, and yet wherever and whenever necessary to change the duties in particular paragraphs or schedules as matters of legislative detail, if such change is demanded.

In making any readjustment there are certain important considerations that cannot be disregarded. If a tariff law has on the whole worked well, and if business has prospered under it and is prospering, it may be better to endure some inconveniences and inequalities for a time than by making changes to risk causing disturbance and perhaps paralysis in the industries and business of the country. The fact that a change in a given rate of duty may be thought desirable does not settle the question whether it is advisable to make the change immediately. Every tariff deals with duties on thousands of articles arranged in hundreds of paragraphs and in many schedules. These duties affect a vast number of interests which are often conflicting. If necessary for our welfare, then, of course, Congress must consider the question of changing the law as a whole or changing any given rates of duty, but we must remember that whenever even a single schedule is considered some interests

will appear to demand a change in almost every schedule in the law; and when it comes to upsetting the schedules generally, the effect upon the business interests of the country would be ruinous.

TRUSTS UNAFFECTED BY TARIFF

One point we must keep steadily in mind. The question of tariff revision, speaking broadly, stands wholly apart from the question of dealing with trusts. No change in tariff duties can have any substantial effect in solving the so-called trust problem. Certain great trusts or great corporations are wholly unaffected by the tariff. Practically all the others that are of any importance have, as a matter of fact, numbers of smaller American competitors; and, of course, a change in the tariff which would work injury to the large corporation would work not merely injury but destruction to its smaller competitors; and equally, of course, such a change would mean disaster to all the wage workers connected with either the large or the small corporations. From the standpoint of those interested in the solution of the trust problem, such a change would therefore merely mean that the trust was relieved of the competition of its weaker American competitors, and thrown into competition only with foreign competitors; and that the first effort to meet this new competition would be made by cutting down wages, and would therefore be primarily at the cost of labor. In the case of some of our greatest trusts, such a change might confer upon them a positive benefit. Speaking broadly, it is evident that the changes in the tariff will affect the trusts for weal or for woe simply as they affect the whole country. The tariff affects trusts only as it affects all other interests. It makes all these interests, large or small, profitable; and its benefits can be taken from the large only under penalty of taking them from the small also.

CANNOT AFFORD TO BECOME FOSSILIZED

To sum up, then, we must as a people approach a matter of such prime economic importance as the tariff from the standpoint of our business needs. We cannot afford to become fossilized or to fail to recognize the fact that as the needs of the country change it may be necessary to meet these new needs by changing certain features of our tariff laws. Still less can we afford to fail to recognize the further fact that these changes must not be made until the need for them outweigh the disadvantages which may result; and when it becomes necessary to make them they should be made with full recognition of the need of stability in our economic system and of keeping unchanged the principle of that system which has now become a settled policy in our national life. We have prospered marvelously at home. As a nation we stand in the very forefront in the giant international industrial competition of the day. We cannot afford by any freak of folly to forfeit the position to which we have thus triumphantly attained.

THE PRESIDENT AT SIOUX FALLS

After his speech at the Armory, the President was driven to his car, and at eleven o'clock the train left for Sioux Falls, S. D., where he spent a quiet Sunday. Owing to the fact that both in Milwaukee and Minneapolis the length of the program did not permit the President to reach his car until midnight, he announced that hereafter he would, in the evening, not begin speaking later than 8:30 o'clock, in order to be back in his car at ten o'clock. In Sioux Falls he attended church, both in the morning and evening, and in the afternoon went for a horseback ride. On Monday morning he addressed four thousand school children and later made the principal speech of the day, speaking on "The Wage Worker and the Tiller of the Soil." While the President was speaking snow began to fall, but as he wore a heavy overcoat he was well protected. In addressing an enthusiastic audience, made up principally of farmers who had come for miles to see him, he said:

THE WAGE WORKER AND THE TILLER OF THE SOIL

Fellow-Citizens: There are many lesser problems which go to make up in their entirety the huge and complex problems of our modern industrial life. Each of these problems is, moreover, connected with many of the others. Few, indeed, are simple or stand only by themselves. The most important are those connected with the relation of the farmers, the stock-growers, and soil-tillers, to the community at large, and those affecting the relations between employer and employed. In a country like ours it is fundamentally true that the well-being of the tiller of the soil and the wage worker is the well-being of the State. If they are well off, then we need concern ourselves but little as to how other classes stand, for they will inevitably be well off, too; and, on the other hand, there can be no real general prosperity unless based on the foundation of the prosperity of the wage worker and the tiller of the soil.

But the needs of these two classes are often not the same. The tiller of the soil has been of all our citizens the one on the whole the least affected in his ways of life and methods of industry by the giant industrial changes of the last half century. There has been change with him, too, of course. He also can work to best advantage

if he keeps in close touch with his fellows; and the success of the national Department of Agriculture has shown how much can be done for him by rational action of the government. Nor is it only through the Department it can act. One of the greatest and most beneficent measures passed by the last Congress, or indeed by any Congress in recent years, is the Irrigation Act, which will do for the States of the Great Plains and the Rocky Mountain region at least as much as ever has been done for the States of the humid region by river and harbor improvements. Few measures that have been put upon the statute books of the nation have done more for the people than this law will, I firmly believe, directly and indirectly accomplish for the States in question.

WHAT THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE IS DOING

The Department of Agriculture devotes its whole energy to working for the welfare of farmers and stock-growers. In every section of our country it aids them in their constantly increasing search for a better agricultural education. It helps not only them, but all the nation, in seeing that our exports of meats have clean bills of health, and that there is rigid inspection of all meats that enter into interstate commerce. Thirty-eight million carcasses were inspected during the last fiscal year. Our stock-growers sell forty-five million dollars' worth of live stock annually, and these animals must be kept healthy or else our people will lose their trade. Our export of plant products to foreign countries amounts to over six hundred million dollars a year, and there is no branch of its work to which the Department of Agriculture devotes more care. Thus the Department has been successfully introducing a macaroni wheat from the headwaters of the Volga, which grows successfully in ten inches of rainfall, and by this means wheat-growing has been successfully extended westward into the semi-arid region. Two million bushels of this wheat were grown last year; and, being suited to dry conditions, it can be used for forage as well as for food for man.

The Department of Agriculture has been helping our fruit men to establish markets abroad by studying methods of fruit preservation through refrigeration and thorough methods of handling and packing. On the Gulf coasts of Louisiana and Texas, thanks to the Department of Agriculture, a rice suitable to the region was imported from the Orient and the rice crop now is practically equal to our needs in this country, whereas a few years ago it supplied but one-fourth of them. The most important of our farm products is the grass crop; and to show what has been done with grasses, I need only to allude to the striking change made in the entire West by the extended use of alfalfa.

Moreover, the Department has taken the lead in the effort to prevent the deforestation of the country. Where there are forests we seek to preserve them;

and on the once treeless plains and the prairies we are doing our best to foster the habit of tree planting among our people. In my own lifetime I have seen wonderful changes brought about by this tree planting here in your own State and in the States immediately around it.

There are a number of very important questions, such as that of good roads, with which the States alone can deal, and where all that the national government can do is to coöperate with them. The same is true of the education of the American farmer. A number of the States have themselves started to help in this work, and the Department of Agriculture does an immense amount which is in the proper sense of the word educational, and educational in the most practical way.

WAGE WORKER FACES CHANGED CONDITIONS

It is therefore clearly true that a great advance has been made in the direction of finding ways by which the government can help the farmer to help himself—the only kind of help which a self-respecting man will accept, or I may add, which will in the end do him any good. Much has been done in these ways, and farm life and farm processes continually change for the better. The farmer himself still retains, because of his surroundings and the nature of his work, to a preëminent degree the qualities which we like to think of as distinctly American in considering our early history. The man who tills his own farm, whether on the prairie or in the woodland, the man who grows what we eat and the raw material which is worked up into what we wear, still exists more nearly under the conditions which obtained when the "embattled farmers" of '76 made this country a nation than is true of any others of our people.

But the wage workers in our cities, like the capitalists in our cities, face totally changed conditions. The development of machinery and the extraordinary change in business conditions have rendered the employment of capital and of persons in large aggregations not merely profitable but often necessary for success, and have specialized the labor of the wage worker at the same time that they have brought great aggregations of wage workers together. More and more in our great industrial centers men have come to realize that they cannot live as independently of one another as in the old days was the case everywhere, and is now the case in the country districts.

Of course, fundamentally each man will yet find that the chief factor in determining his success or failure in life is the sum of his own individual qualities. He cannot afford to lose his individual initiative, his individual will and power; but he can best use that power if for certain objects he unites with his fellows. Much can be done by organization, combination, union among the wage workers; finally, something can be done by the direct action of the State. It is not possible empiric

ally to declare when the interference of the State should be deemed legitimate and when illegitimate.

The line of demarcation between unhealthy over-interference and unhealthy lack of regulation is not always well defined, and shifts with the change in our industrial needs. Most certainly we should never invoke the interference of the State or nation unless it is absolutely necessary; but it is equally true that when confident of its necessity we should not on academic grounds refuse it. Wise factory laws, laws to forbid the employment of child labor and to safeguard the employees against the effects of culpable negligence by the employer, are necessary, not merely in the interest of the honest and humane employer, who should not be penalized for his honesty and humanity by being exposed to unchecked competition with an unscrupulous rival. It is far more difficult to deal with the greed that works through cunning than with the greed that works through violence. But the effort to deal with it must be steadily made.

THE SETTLEMENT OF STRIKES

Very much of our effort in reference to labor matters should be by every device and expedient to try to secure a constantly better understanding between employer and employee. Everything possible should be done to increase the sympathy and fellow-feeling between them, and every chance taken to allow each to look at all questions, especially at questions in dispute, somewhat through the other's eyes. If met with a sincere desire to act fairly by one another, and if there is, furthermore, power by each to appreciate the other's standpoint, the chance of trouble is minimized. I suppose every thinking man rejoices when by mediation or arbitration it proves possible to settle troubles in time to avert the suffering and bitterness caused by strikes. Moreover, a conciliation committee can do best work when the trouble is in its beginning, or at least has not come to a head. When the break has actually occurred, damage has been done, and each side feels sore and angry; and it is difficult to get them together—difficult to make either forget its own wrongs and remember the rights of the other. If possible, the effort at conciliation or mediation or arbitration should be made in the earlier stages, and should be marked by the wish on the part of both sides to try to come to a common agreement which each shall think in the interests of the other as well as of itself.

When we deal with such a subject we are fortunate in having before us an admirable object-lesson in the work that has just been closed by the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission. This was the Commission which was appointed last fall at the time when the coal strike in the anthracite regions threatened our nation with a disaster second to none which has befallen us since the days of the Civil War. Their report was made just before the Senate adjourned at the special session; and no gov-

ernment document of recent years marks a more important piece of work better done, and there is none which teaches sounder social morality to our people. The Commission consisted of seven as good men as were to be found in the country, representing the bench, the church, the army, the professions, the employers and the employed. They acted as a unit, and the report which they unanimously signed is a masterpiece of sound common sense and of sound doctrine on the very question with which our people should most deeply concern themselves. The immediate effect of this Commission's appointment and action was of vast and of incalculable benefit to the nation; but the ultimate effect will be even better, if capitalist, wage worker, and law-maker alike will take to heart and act upon the lessons set forth in the report they have made.

Of course, the national government has but a small field in which it can work in labor matters. Something it can do, however, and that something ought to be done. Among other things I should like to see the District of Columbia, which is completely under the control of the national government, receive a set of model labor laws. Washington is not a city of very large industries, but still it has some. Wise labor legislation for the city of Washington would be a good thing in itself, and it would be a far better thing, because a standard would thereby be set for the country as a whole.

In the field of general legislation relating to these subjects the action of Congress is necessarily very limited. Still there are certain ways in which we can act. Thus the Secretary of the Navy has recommended, with my cordial and hearty approval, the enactment of a strong employers' liability law in the navy-yards of the nation. It should be extended to similar branches of the government work. Again, sometimes such laws can be enacted as an incident to the nation's control over interstate commerce. In my last annual message to Congress I advocated the passage of a law in reference to car couplings—to strengthen the features of the one already on the statute books so as to minimize the exposure to death and maiming of railway employees. Much opposition had to be overcome. In the end an admirable law was passed "to promote the safety of employees and travelers upon railroads by compelling common carriers engaged in interstate commerce to equip their cars with automatic couplers and continuous brakes." This law received my signature a couple of days before Congress adjourned. It represents a real and substantial advance in an admirable kind of legislation.

THE TRIP THROUGH THE DAKOTAS

President Roosevelt made twelve speeches during his trip through the Dakotas, most of which were confined to the tariff and the general prosperity of the country. At Tulare the

President departed from his usual custom, and, descending from his car, shook hands with the people gathered at the station. Yankton was the first stop after the train left Sioux Falls. The other stops of the day were made at Woonsocket, Scotland, Tripp, Tarkiston, Alpena and Redfield.

President Roosevelt spent a half-hour Tuesday night in Medora, N. D., which was his postoffice address when he owned a ranch there sixteen years before, and was sheriff of Billings County. Medora is small, but the ranchmen from the country for miles in that vicinity came to town and united in giving the President a truly Western reception. Joe Ferris, who was the President's old foreman at Bismarck, rode with him to Medora and recalled the days the Chief Executive spent on his ranch. Probably Tuesday was the most enjoyable day of the President's trip. He was in familiar country all the time and enjoyed the experience immensely. Perhaps the most significant speech was the one delivered at Fargo in the morning. This was one of his set speeches and was a discussion of the administration's Philippine policy and the army. The President spoke in part as follows:

THE PHILIPPINE POLICY

Three and a half years ago President McKinley spoke in the adjoining State of Minnesota on the occasion of the return of the Thirteenth Volunteers from the Philippine Islands, where they had served with your own gallant sons of the North Dakota regiment. He spoke of the island as follows:

"That Congress will provide for them a government which will bring them blessings, which will promote their material interests as well as advance their people in the path of civilizatiou and intelligence, I confidently believe. They will not be governed as vassals or serfs or slaves. They will be given a government of liberty, regulated by law honestly administered, without oppressing exactions, taxation without tyranny, justice without bribe, education without distinction of social condition, freedom of religious worship, and protection in 'life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.' "

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AN OPEN AIR SPEECH

The above photograph shows President Roosevelt addressing the large crowd which greeted him at Waukesha, Wisconsin.

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THE NATION'S CHIEF AT ST. PAUL

"Let children learn from experience to be strong and manly," said President Roosevelt in his St. Paul speech.

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"SHOULD AULD ACQUAINTANCE BE FORGOT"

When President Roosevelt arrived at the little town of Medora, North Dakota, where he owned a ranch in 1886, he was given a truly Western reception.

From Stereograph, copyright by Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.

AT FORT YELLOWSTONE

The above picture shows President Roosevelt accompanied by John Burroughs, the noted naturalist, and a party of friends, setting out for a trip through Yellowstone Park.

From Stereograph, copyright by Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.

THE PRESIDENT SAYS GOOD-BYE

The above photograph shows President Roosevelt in one of his characteristic poses, during his speech at Windsor, Vermont.

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THE PRESIDENT IN RHODE ISLAND

The above illustration shows President Roosevelt delivering his celebrated speech on trusts to the people of Providence.

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PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT IN VERMONT

The President's popularity in the East was demonstrated by many cordial ovations in the State of Vermont. The above picture was taken at Randolph.

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PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT AND SENATOR HOAR

The above picture was taken at the conclusion of the President's speech at Worcester, Massachusetts.

What he said then lay in the realm of promise. Now it lies in the realm of positive performance.

If promises are violated, if plighted word is not kept, then those who have failed in their duty should be held up to reprobation. If, on the other hand, the promises have been substantially made good; if the achievement has kept pace, and more than kept pace with the prophecy, then they who made the one are responsible for the other and are entitled of just right to claim the credit which attaches to those who serve the nation well. This credit I claim for the men who have managed so admirably the military and the civil affairs of the Philippine Islands, and for those men who have so heartily backed them in Congress, and without whose aid and support not one thing could have been accomplished.

To put down the insurrection and restore peace to the islands was a duty not only to ourselves but to the islanders also. We could not have abandoned the conflict without shirking this duty, without proving ourselves recreants to the memory of our forefathers.

It seems strange, looking back, that any of our people should have failed to recognize a duty so obvious; but there was such failure, and the government at home, the civil authorities in the Philippines, and above all our gallant army, had to do their work amid a storm of detraction. The army in especial was attacked in a way which finally did good, for in the end it aroused the hearty resentment of the great body of the American people, not against the army, but against the army's traducers.

MILITARY RULE REPLACED BY CIVIL GOVERNMENT

The circumstances of the war made it one of peculiar difficulty, and our soldiers were exposed to peculiar wrongs from their foes. They fought in dense tropical jungles against enemies who were very treacherous and very cruel, not only toward our own men, but toward the great numbers of friendly natives, the most peaceable and most civilized among whom eagerly welcomed our rule.

Under such circumstances, among a hundred thousand hot-blooded and powerful young men serving in small detachments on the other side of the globe, it was impossible that occasional instances of wrong-doing should not occur. But these offenses were the exception and not the rule. As a whole, our troops showed not only signal courage and efficiency, but great humanity and the most sincere desire to promote the welfare and liberties of the islanders.

As rapidly as the military rule was extended over the islands by the defeat of the insurgents, just so rapidly was it replaced by the civil government. At the present time the civil government is supreme and the army in the Philippines has been reduced until it is sufficient merely to provide against the recurrence of trouble.

The government is conducted purely in the interests of the people of the islands; they are protected in their religious and civil rights; they have been given an excellent and well-administered school system, and each of them now enjoys rights to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" such as were never before known in all the history of the islands.

Not only has the military rule in the Philippines been worked out quicker and better than we had dared to expect, but the progress socially and in civil government has likewise exceeded our fondest hopes.

Remember always that in the Philippines the American government has tried and is trying to carry out exactly what the greatest genius and most revered patriot ever known in the Philippine Islands—Jose Rizal—steadfastly advocated. This man, shortly before his death, in a message to his countrymen, under date of December 16, 1896, condemned unsparingly the insurrection of Aguinaldo, terminated just before our navy appeared upon the scene, and pointed out the path his people should follow to liberty and enlightenment.

Moreover, the last Congress enacted some admirable legislation affecting the army, passing first of all the militia bill, and then the bill to create a general staff. The general staff law is of immense importance and benefit to the regular army. Individually, I would not admit that the American regular, either officer or enlisted man, is inferior to any other regular soldier in the world.

Under the worn-out and ineffective organization which has hitherto existed, a sudden strain is absolutely certain to produce the dislocation and confusion we saw at the outbreak of the war with Spain; and when such dislocation and confusion occurs it is easy and natural, but entirely improper, to blame the men who happen to be in office, instead of the system which is really responsible. Under the law just enacted by Congress this system will be changed immensely for the better, and every patriotic American ought to rejoice; for when we come to the army and the navy we deal with the honor and interest of all our people; and when such is the case, party lines are as nothing, and we all stand shoulder to shoulder as Americans, moved only by pride and love for our common country.

At Bismarck President Roosevelt was introduced to a number of Indian chiefs, some of whom had fought against Custer. He had traded with two of the Indians eighteen or twenty years before and instantly recognized them. The chiefs presented an address and a pipe of peace to the White Father, who had a few words of greeting and thanks for each.

ENTERS YELLOWSTONE PARK

Late Wednesday afternoon President Roosevelt and his party entered Yellowstone Park, where he remained for sixteen days, entirely shut off from the world, safe from intrusion and occupied only with camping and resting. The President was accompanied by John Burroughs, the eminent naturalist. The presidential train arrived at Gardiner, the entrance to the park, Wednesday noon and was met by a detachment of the Third Cavalry. Major Pitcher was on hand to welcome the President, and after luncheon had been served in the car, the latter mounted his horse and made a brief address to the people. He then bade the members of his party good-bye, and led the way into the park, Mr. Burroughs following in an army wagon. On April 23d, President Roosevelt's vacation came to an end.

The President spent most of his time during his tour of the park in studying the habits of the game. He would lie for hours near a herd of elk or mountain goats, and frequently walked eight or ten miles to observe them. He also spent a great deal of his time in studying bird life with Mr. Burroughs. The President's camp was composed of two Sibley tents and one wall tent without board floors, and while everything was simple, yet it was quite comfortable. The party consisted of Major Pitcher, Mr. Burroughs, a couple of orderlies and two cooks; there was also a small force of men to look after the pack wagon.

AN AMUSING INCIDENT

During the visit to Geyserland, the President and Mr. Burroughs were on skis and started to race downhill. The snow was soft, and Mr. Burroughs, who had never used the ski before, soon found himself with his head in the snow and his

feet in the air. He had hardly regained his footing when the President duplicated the performance. While no accidents occurred, the President had a number of narrow escapes. One day, in company with Major Pitcher, he was firing a new revolver at a tree. The weapon was defective and the empty shell flew back and struck the President on the cheek, drawing the blood. If it had struck a little higher up it would have injured, if not blinded, one eye.

The longest walk enjoyed by the President was taken on Easter Sunday. He started out alone in the morning, declining the offer of other members of the party to accompany him. He spent the day in climbing mountains and walking along the trail, covering twenty miles. On April 24th, he laid the corner stone of the new gate at the northern entrance to Yellowstone Park. At the conclusion of the ceremonies President Roosevelt started at once for his trip to the coast. On April 25th, he traveled in three States, and made a number of addresses, both from the rear platform of his car and from stands erected for the purpose.

A COWBOY SHOW

The most unique demonstration of the day, and the one that undoubtedly pleased the President most, was the cowboy show at Edgemont. The demonstration was arranged by the Society of Black Hill Pioneers, and consisted of exhibitions of cowboy riding. Special trains brought in a large crowd from the surrounding country, and they were all at the station, with three bands of music, to greet the President.

As a train pulled in, the cowboys let out a yell, the bands played and the salute was fired. The exhibition stand was but a short distance from the depot, and after the President had made an address, the boys began riding the bucking

horses, and the President partook of lunch at the mess wagon. The only disappointment of the day was the failure of the prize bucking horse of that section to perform. This horse has a record as a champion bucker, but on this occasion he was as gentle as a kitten. At the conclusion of the exercises the cowboys formed an escort to the train, and after it had started they dashed alongside the President's car and he shook hands with many of them from the window.

WELCOME AT NEWCASTLE

At Newcastle, Wyo., where a half-hour stop was made early in the day, the President was escorted to the speaker's stand along a pathway strewn with flowers and lined on one side by school children who waved miniature flags and seemed to enjoy the President's speech as much as their elders. In his address President Roosevelt said he wished publicly to express his acknowledgment for the way in which the Wyoming senators and congressmen had coöperated with him in Washington. He referred to the irrigation law passed at the last session of Congress, said he believed much good would come of it, as the government would be able to undertake enterprises which would be beyond the power of private capital, but that the government would be able to try experiments from the result of which capital would be able to learn much.

At Crawford, Neb., the President was given a military welcome. Here he spoke a few words of greeting to the soldiers and also spoke briefly to the large crowd that had gathered at his car. Stops were also made during the day at Gillette and Moorcroft, Wyo., and Ardmore, S. D. The President went on Sunday, April 26th, to Grand Island, Neb., and on Monday morning broke ground for the new Carnegie Library at that place. At Hastings he made an address from

the station platform, speaking of the forestry situation in Nebraska, urging that the work be pushed forward.

At Lincoln he was greeted by fifty thousand persons and escorted to a stand in the Capitol grounds by Civil War veterans, cadet battalions from the University of Nebraska, and the First Regiment of the Nebraska National Guards. The President spoke briefly on good citizenship, and praised the State for its men, women and children, saying the stock was superior and he wanted to see it increase. Brief stops were made at Vermont, Crete, Wahoo, and Fairmont, where the President addressed assembled crowds from the rear of his train. Wednesday morning the President began his trip to Iowa.

SPEAKS ON THE LABOR QUESTION

At Omaha he made a speech on the labor question in which he urged, above all, honesty and common sense in dealings between capital and labor. The capitalist must not look down in arrogance upon the laborer; neither must the latter look up with envy and hatred to the capitalist. Each needs the other; both must stand or fall together; so they must meet on the common plane and be honest with each other. He said:

> Any man who tries to excite class hatred, sectional hatred, hate of creeds, any kind of hatred in a community, though he may affect to do it in the interest of the class he is representing, is, with absolute certainty, that class's own worst enemy. In the long run, and as a whole, we are going to go up or go down together.

ACROSS THE STATE OF IOWA

On Tuesday, President Roosevelt dashed across the State of Iowa and was everywhere met by a large and enthusiastic crowd. His speech-making began at seven o'clock in the morning, when he made a brief stop at Shenandoah, and his last speech was delivered in the evening before thousands of

people. One of the largest crowds that greeted the President during his trip was at Des Moines, where he made two speeches, one at the convention of Mystic Shriners, the other at the State Capitol. During the President's drive through the city, four mothers, each with a baby in her arms, approached his carriage and handed him bouquets of flowers; they then held the babies up to be kissed, and the President did not disappoint them. Stops were made at Clarinda, Sharpsburg, Van Wert, Osceola and Oskaloosa. At the latter place he dedicated the new Y. M. C. A. building.

CHAPTER XV

SWINGING AROUND THE CIRCLE

Arrives at St. Louis—Dines with Ex-President Cleveland—Dedicates the Louisiana Purchase Exposition—The President's Speech Received with Great Enthusiasm—Cordial Demonstration by Kansas City People—Ovations in Colorado and California—Speaks on Expansion in San Francisco—The Trip through Nevada and Oregon—Greeted by Cheering Thousands in Washington, Montana, Wyoming, Idaho and Utah—Homeward Bound.

The President left Ottumwa early Wednesday morning, and arrived at St. Louis at 4.30 p. m. Here a troop of cavalry men from the Fourth Regiment met him at the station; a dozen carriages were in waiting and a detail of mounted police was in attendance, and great crowds filled the streets in every direction.

ENTHUSIASTIC RECEPTION IN ST. LOUIS

He was driven directly to the Odeon, where the National Good Roads Association delegates were assembled in annual convention, but whose proceedings for the day had been abandoned because the President had promised to make an address to the audience in the hall. They rose in a body and saluted as he faced them on the platform. He talked to them of good roads, and of the good things that come to a nation in the wake of good roads. Immediately after leaving the Odeon he was escorted again between deep lines of spectators, to the St. Louis University, where he made a brief speech. Mr. Roosevelt was next driven to the residence of Ex-Governor

David R. Francis, president of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, where he remained until eight o'clock, and where he addressed a meeting of the Franz-Sigel Monument Association. When the President reached Mr. Francis's home he found that Ex-President Grover Cleveland, who, like him, was to be the guest of the Exposition, had already arrived. President Roosevelt and Mr. Cleveland dined together.

IMPRESSIVE PAGEANTS AND CEREMONIES

The following day, the Louisiana Purchase Exposition was formally dedicated within the Liberal Arts Building, where about fifty thousand persons had assembled. But the dedicatory exercises were only a small part of the day's events.

A most impressive military pageant wound through the beautiful avenues, in the residence portion of the city, where over three hundred thousand spectators lined the streets and greeted the soldiery with continuous cheers. President Roosevelt was driven at the head of the procession in an open carriage, and in line close behind him were Grover Cleveland, delegations of ambassadors, cabinet officers, senators, congressmen, governors, and other distinguished men. From the spacious reviewing stand on the Exposition grounds, the President watched the long line of soldiers march past to the music of many bands.

The dedicatory exercises were opened with prayer by the celebrated Roman Catholic prelate, Cardinal Gibbons. Chairman Thomas Carter, of the National Commission, and President Francis, then made short addresses, the latter presenting the Louisiana Purchase Exposition to the United States through the nation's Chief Executive. When President Roosevelt arose from his chair to begin his speech, a burst of applause greeted him. He tried to speak, held up his hand,

smiled and shook his head. It was of no avail. "Give me all the chance you can," he said, "I need it." Then he laughed, and those directly in front laughed and the laugh went repeating through the hall until it was one mighty roar. But in the end the President's good nature prevailed and he made his dedicatory speech. It is here given as follows:

THE PRESIDENT'S DEDICATORY SPEECH

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: At the outset of my address let me recall to the mind of my hearers that the soil upon which we stand, before it was ours, was successively the possession of two mighty empires, Spain and France, whose sons made a deathless record of heroism in the early annals of the New World. No history of the western country can be written without paying heed to the wonderful part played therein in the early days by the soldiers, missionaries, explorers and traders, who did their work for the honor of the proud banners of France and Castile.

While the settlers of English-speaking stock, and those of Dutch, German and Scandinavian origin who were associated with them, were still clinging close to the eastern seaboard, the pioneers of Spain and of France had penetrated deep into the hitherto unknown wilderness of the West and had wandered far and wide within the boundaries of what is now our mighty country. The very cities themselves—St. Louis, New Orleans, Santa Fe, New Mexico—bear witness by their titles to the nationalities of their founders. It was not until the Revolution had begun that the English-speaking settlers pushed west across the Alleghenies, and not until a century ago that they entered in to possess the land upon which we now stand.

We have met here to-day to commemorate the hundredth anniversary of the event which more than any other, after the foundation of the government and always excepting its preservation, determined the character of our national life—determined that we should be a great expanding nation instead of relatively a small and stationary one.

Of course, it was not with the Louisiana purchase that our career of expansion began. The Illinois region, including the present States of Illinois and Indiana, was added to our domain by force of arms, as a sequel to the adventurous expedition of George Rogers Clark and his frontier riflemen. Later the treaties of Jay and Pinckney materially extended our real boundaries to the west. But none of these events was of so striking a character as to fire the popular imagination. The old thirteen colonies had always claimed that their rights stretched westward to the

Mississippi, and, vague and unreal though these claims were until made good by conquest, settlement and diplomacy, they will serve to give the impression that the earliest westward movements of our people were little more than the filling in of already existing national boundaries.

But there could be no illusion about the acquisition of the vast territory beyond the Mississippi, stretching westward to the Pacific, which in that day was known as Louisiana. This immense region was admittedly the territory of a foreign power, of a European kingdom. None of our people had ever laid claim to a foot of it. Its acquisition could in no sense be treated as rounding out any existing claims. When we acquired it we made evident once for all that consciously and of set purpose we had embarked on a career of expansion, that we had taken our place among those daring and hardy nations who risk much with the hope and desire of winning high position among the great powers of the earth. As is often the case in nature, the law of development of a living organism showed itself in its actual workings to be wiser than the wisdom of the wisest.

This work of expansion was by far the greatest work of our people during the years that intervened between the adoption of the constitution and the outbreak of the Civil War. There were other questions of real moment and importance, and there were many which at the time seemed such to those engaged in answering them, but the greatest feat of our forefathers of those generations was the deed of the men who, with pack train or wagon train, on horseback, on foot, or by boat upon the waters, pushed the frontier ever westward across the continent.

NATURAL EXPANSION

Never before had the world seen the kind of national expansion which gave our people all that part of the American continent lying west of the original thirteen States, the greatest landmark in which was the Louisiana purchase. Our triumph in this process of expansion was indissolubly bound up with the success of our peculiar kind of federal government, and this success has been so complete that because of its very completeness we now sometimes fail to appreciate not only the all-importance but the tremendous difficulty of the problem with which our nation was originally faced.

When our forefathers joined to call into being this nation, they undertook a task for which there was but little encouraging precedent. The development of civilization from the earliest period seemed to show the truth of two propositions: In the first place, it had always proved exceedingly difficult to secure both freedom and strength in any government, and in the second place, it had always proved well-nigh impossible for a nation to expand without either breaking up or becoming a centralized tyranny. With the success of our effort to combine a strong and efficient

national union, able to put down disorder at home and to maintain our honor and interest abroad, I have not now to deal. This success was signal and all-important, but it was by no means unprecedented in the same sense that our type of expansion was unprecedented.

The history of Rome and of Greece illustrates very well the two types of expansion which had taken place in ancient times and which had been universally accepted as the only possible types up to the period when as a nation we ourselves began to take possession of this continent. The Grecian states performed remarkable feats of colonization, but each colony as soon as created became entirely independent of the mother state, and in after years was almost as apt to prove its enemy as its friend. Local self-government, local independence, was secured, but only by the absolute sacrifice of anything resembling national unity.

In consequence, the Greek world, for all its wonderful brilliancy and the extraordinary artistic, literary and philosophical development which has made all mankind its debtors for the ages, was yet wholly unable to withstand a formidable foe, save spasmodically. As soon as powerful, permanent empires arose on its outskirts, the Greek states in the neighborhood of such empires fell under their sway. National power and greatness were completely sacrificed to local liberty.

With Rome the exact opposite occurred. The imperial city rose to absolute dominion over all the peoples of Italy, and then expanded her rule over the entire civilized world by a process which kept the nation strong and united, but gave no room whatever for local liberty and self-government. All other cities and countries were subject to Rome. In consequence, this great and masterful race of warriors, rulers, road builders and administrators stamped their indelible impress upon all the after-life of our race, and yet let an over-centralization eat out the vitals of their empire until it became an empty shell; so that when the barbarians came they destroyed only what had already become worthless to the world.

ONLY THE FAR-SEEING WELCOME EXPANSION

The underlying viciousness of each type of expansion was plain enough and the remedy now seems simple enough. But when the fathers of the republic first formulated the constitution under which we live this remedy was untried, and no one could foretell how it would work. They themselves began the experiment almost immediately by adding new States to the original thirteen. Excellent people in the East viewed this initial expansion of the country with great alarm. Exactly as during the colonial period many good people in the mother country thought it highly important that settlers should be kept out of the Ohio Valley in the interest of the fur companies, so after we had become a nation many good people of the Atlantic coast felt grave apprehension lest they might somehow be hurt by the westward growth of the nation.

These good people shook their heads over the formation of States in the fertile Ohio Valley, which now forms part of the heart of our nation, and they declared that the destruction of the republic had been accomplished when through the Louisiana purchase we acquired nearly half of what is now that same republic's present territory. Nor was their feeling unnatural. Only the adventurous and the far-seeing can be expected heartily to welcome the process of expansion, for the nation that expands is a nation which is entering upon a great career, and with greatness there must of necessity come perils which daunt all save the most stout-hearted.

We expanded by carving the wilderness into Territories, and out of these Territories building new States when once they had received as permanent settlers a sufficient number of our own people. Being a practical nation, we have never tried to force on any section of our new territory an unsuitable form of government merely because it was suitable for another section under different conditions. Of the territory covered by the Louisiana purchase a portion was given statehood within a few years. Another portion has not been admitted to statehood, although a century has elapsed—although doubtless it will soon be. In each case we showed the practical governmental genius of our race by devising methods suitable to meet the actual existing needs, not by insisting upon the application of some abstract shibboleth to all our new possessions alike, no matter how incongruous this application might sometimes be.

PART OF THE NATURAL ORDER OF THINGS

Over by far the major part of the territory, however, our people spread in such numbers during the course of the nineteenth century that we were able to build up State after State, each with exactly the same complete local independence in all matters affecting purely its own domestic interests as in any of the original thirteen States — each owing the same absolute fealty to the Union of all the States which each of the original thirteen States also owes—and finally each having the same proportional right to its share in shaping and directing the common policy of the Union which is possessed by any other State, whether of the original thirteen or not.

This process now seems to us part of the natural order of things, but it was wholly unknown until our own people devised it. It seems to us a mere matter of course, a matter of elementary right and justice, that in the deliberations of the national representative bodies the representatives of a State which came into the Union but yesterday stand on a footing of exact and entire equality with those of the commonwealths whose sons once signed the Declaration of Independence. But this way of looking at the matter is purely modern, and in its origin purely American. When Washington during his presidency saw new States come into the Union on a footing of complete equality with the old, every European nation which had

colonies still administered them as dependencies, and every other mother country treated the colonist not as a self-governing equal but as a subject.

The process which we began has since been followed by all the great peoples who were capable both of expansion and of self-government, and now the world accepts it as the natural process, as the rule; but a century and a quarter ago it was not merely exceptional; it was unknown.

This, then, is the great historic significance of the movement of continental expansion in which the Louisiana purchase was the most striking single achievement. It stands out in marked relief even among the feats of a nation of pioneers, a nation whose people have from the beginning been picked out by a process of natural selection from among the most enterprising individuals of the nations of western Europe.

The acquisition of the territory is a credit to the broad and far-sighted statesmanship of the great statesmen to whom it was immediately due, and, above all, to the aggressive and masterful character of the hardy pioneer folk to whose restless energy these statesmen gave expression and direction, whom they followed rather than led. The history of the land comprised within the limits of the purchase is an hostile men and epitome of the entire history of our people.

THE OLD PIONEER DAYS ARE GONE

Within these limits we have gradually built up State after State until now they many times over surpass in wealth, in population and in many-sided development the original thirteen States as they were when their delegates met in the continental congress. The people of these States have shown themselves mighty in war with their fellow man, and mighty in strength to tame the rugged wilderness. They could not thus have conquered the forest and the prairie, had they not possessed the great fighting virtues, the qualities which enable a people to overcome the forces of hostile nature.

On the other hand, they could not have used aright their conquest had they not in addition possessed the qualities of self-mastery and self-restraint, the power of acting in combination with their fellows, the power of yielding obedience to the law and of building up an orderly civilization. Courage and hardihood are indispensable virtues in a people, but the people which possesses no others can never rise high in the scale either of power or of culture. Great peoples must have in addition the governmental capacity which comes only when individuals fully recognize their duties to one another and to the whole body politic, and are able to join together in feats of constructive statesmanship and of honest and effective administration.

The old pioneer days are gone, with their roughness and their hardships, their incredible toil and their wild, half-savage romance. But the need of the pioneer

virtues remains the same as ever. The peculiar frontier conditions have vanished, but the manliness and stalwart hardihood of the frontiersmen can be given even freer scope under the conditions surrounding the complex industrialism of the present day.

In this great region acquired for our people under the presidency of Jefferson, this region stretching from the Gulf to the Canadian border, from the Mississippi to the Rockies, the material and social progress has been so vast that alike for weal and for woe its people now share the opportunities and bear the burdens common to the entire civilized world. The problems before us are fundamentally the same east and west of the Mississippi, in the new States and in the old, and exactly the same qualities are required for their successful solution.

MAKE OUR WORDS GOOD BY DEEDS

We meet here to-day to commemorate the great event, an event which marks an era in statesmanship no less than in pioneering. It is fitting that we pay our homage in words, but we must in honor make our words good by deeds. We have every right to take a just pride in the great deeds of our forefathers, but we show ourselves unworthy to be their descendants if we make what they did an excuse for our lying supine instead of an incentive to the effort to show ourselves by our acts worthy of them. In the administration of city, State, and nation, in the management of our home life and the conduct of our business and social relations, we are bound to show certain high and fine qualities of character under penalty of seeing the whole heart of our civilization eaten out while the body still lives.

We justly pride ourselves on our marvelous material prosperity, and such prosperity must exist in order to establish a foundation upon which a higher life can be built, but unless we do in very fact build this higher life thereon the material prosperity itself will go for but very little. Now, in 1903, in the altered conditions, we must meet the changed and changing problems with the spirit shown by the men who in 1803 and in the subsequent years gained, explored, conquered and settled this vast territory, then a desert, now filled with thriving and populous States.

The old days were great because the men who lived in them had mighty qualities, and we must make the new days great by showing these same qualities. We must insist upon courage and resolution, upon hardihood, tenacity, and fertility in resources; we must insist upon the strong, virile virtues, and we must insist no less upon the virtues of self-restraint, self-mastery, regard for the rights of others; we must show our abhorrence of cruelty, brutality and corruption in public and private life alike. If we come short in any of these qualities we shall measurably fail; and if, as I believe we surely shall, we develop these qualities in the future to an even greater degree than in the past, then in the century now beginning we shall make of

this republic the freest and most mighty nation which has ever come forth from the womb of time.

ENTHUSIASTIC MEETING AT KANSAS CITY

After President Roosevelt had witnessed the display of fireworks which closed the day's ceremonies, he spent a few moments taking leave of the World's Fair officials and other distinguished participants in the ceremonies of the day, and was then driven to his train, which left at once for Kansas City. He remained five hours in Kansas City, Mo., and was the guest of Kansas City, Kans., just across the State line, for two hours, leaving for the West at 4 p. m., Friday. In the two cities the President was driven over a route fifteen miles long, reviewed nearly thirty thousand school children, made two speeches, one at the Convention Hall before the largest crowd that the structure ever held, and partook of a luncheon at the Baltimore Hotel.

The reception given President Roosevelt was intensely enthusiastic and it was estimated that one hundred thousand persons greeted him. The schools were closed, business generally was suspended, the Mayor having proclaimed it a holiday, and many residences and business houses were elaborately decorated. Never before had there been such a general desire on the part of the citizens to show their esteem for a distinguished visitor.

SPOKE TO THE BLUE AND THE GRAY

In the course of his speech at Convention Hall, the President spoke a word of greeting to his audience and then addressed himself specially to the men who wore the blue and those who wore the gray, both being represented in the audience, and said:

I do not usually say anything about our being a reunited country, and in every Northern audience wherever I see a group of men wearing a button of the Grand

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION IN SESSION

The above photograph was taken during Ex-Governor Frank S. Black's nominating speech in behalf of President Roosevelt. The last w[illegible] had not left his lips when the convention was on its feet and enthusiasm reigned. Flags were in the air, hats were thrown up, [illegible] leaped into their chairs, and the air was rent with one prolonged shout from [illegible] throats.

Wm. Loeb Jr.

HON. CHARLES WARREN FAIRBANKS

Republican nominee for Vice-President.

THE FAMILY OF HON. CHARLES WARREN FAIRBANKS

Frederick Fairbanks
Mrs. Charles W. Fairbanks
Mrs. Warren C. Fairbanks
Captain Warren C. Fairbanks

Army of the Republic, I am certain to find a group of men ready to cheer every allusion to the gallantry of the men who wore the gray.

At the Union Pacific station, at Armstrong, where he took his train for the West, he received a delegation of students from the Kansas City University, who presented him with a gold badge set with pearls and diamonds, and designating him an honorary member of the University Library Association.

CORDIAL RECEPTIONS IN KANSAS

At Lawrence, Kans., President Roosevelt left his train and drove through the crowded streets, where the Haskell Indian School pupils and public school children, the state university students and members of the Grand Army of the Republic had assembled to greet him. He made two speeches at Topeka; one was at the laying of the corner stone of the new Y. M. C. A. building, and the other at the Auditorium Capitol. Both addresses were heard by immense crowds and were received with the greatest enthusiasm. The city was profusely decorated and throngs of people came from the surrounding country to assist in doing honor to the nation's Executive.

At Junction City, Kans., the President made the first reference to the army since the report of General Miles, on the atrocities in the Philippines, was made public. President Roosevelt had among his hearers a number of troops from Fort Riley, who were drawn up about the station. He spoke of the fine record of the Kansas soldiers in the Spanish war and in the Philippines, and added:

They have added fresh pages to the honor roll of the republic by what they have done in the Philippines, by the courage and the soldier-like efficiency which they have shown in these islands, and by the extraordinary moderation, self-restraint and humanity with which they have carried themselves in one of the most difficult and one of the most righteous contests ever waged by a civilized nation.

INCIDENTS OF THE COLORADO TRIP

From Sharon Springs, where the President spent Sunday, he went to Denver and other points in Colorado. At the former place he attended divine service, and as the services began, a very pleasing incident occurred, which illustrates President Roosevelt's innate kindness of heart. Two little girls were standing in the aisle, near the President's pew, and as soon as he saw them he drew them to his side, and during the singing the three shared the same hymn book.

The nation's Chief Executive was the guest of the city of Denver for two and one-half hours, and the people, regardless of political affiliation, greeted him with a warmth and heartiness of welcome not exceeded on his transcontinental tour. A military escort was in waiting to receive the Executive on his arrival in the city, and Mayor Wright welcomed him. He presented the President with a morocco-bound, engraved program of his tour through the city and a magnificent gold badge bearing the State crest and an appropriate inscription.

SCENES OF ENTHUSIASM IN DENVER

The throngs in the spacious capitol grounds and the adjacent streets sent up cheer after cheer as the President came into view. He was introduced by Governor Peabody and spoke for a few minutes, after which the President's party was conveyed to the city park. After entering the park, the carriages passed between long rows of school children, who waved flags and loudly voiced their pleasure in seeing the first citizen of the republic. On the return from the park to the depot the scenes of enthusiasm were repeated.

Over twenty thousand people welcomed the President at Colorado Springs. He was escorted to the Antlers Hotel,

where he addressed a great audience, speaking on the responsibilities of citizenship. Following the speech the colored citizens presented him with a silver medal. At Pueblo the President was given a remarkable welcome. At Trinidad he appeared on the platform of his car and made a short address.

THE PRESIDENT IN NEW MEXICO

The first stop after entering New Mexico was at Sante Fe, where nearly four hours were consumed. Here he spoke to ten thousand people at the Capitol, saying it was a great pleasure to him to come to New Mexico, from which Territory more than half the members of his regiment came. A brief reception was held in the Capitol, after which a drive was taken. A stop was made at the church of San Miguel, probably the oldest church edifice in the United States, and at the Cathedral, where the President stood sponsor for a baby who was named after him.

At Albuquerque the President made a speech, dwelling mostly on irrigation and its importance in the development of New Mexico. Directly opposite the speaker's stand was a tableau presenting New Mexico appealing for admission to the Union. Forty-five little girls, dressed in white, represented the States, while one of them, on the outside of a gate, at which stood Uncle Sam, represented New Mexico. The President said that when New Mexico had a little more irrigation there would be nothing the matter with the girl on the outside.

THE WELCOME AT GRAND CANYON

Arizona gave President Roosevelt a warm welcome at Grand Canyon. After he had greeted many members of his old regiment, he mounted a horse and took a twelve-mile

ride. Then he returned to the hotel, where he made a brief address to the people, paying tribute to the men who served in his regiment, among whom was Governor Brodie, who introduced him. He spoke glowingly of the wonders of the Grand Canyon.

> In your interest and the interest of all the country, keep this great wonder of nature as it now is. I hope you won't have a building of any kind to mar the wonderful grandeur and sublimity of the Canyon. You cannot improve it. The ages have been at work on it and man can only mar it. Keep it for your children and your children's children, and all who come after you, as one of the great sights for Americans to see.

THE PRESIDENT'S PRAISE OF CALIFORNIA

The enthusiastic welcome that greeted President Roosevelt at each stopping-place within the boundary of California reached the climax when the special train arrived at Los Angeles, Friday, May 8th. Thousands of people blocked the streets on every side. The annual feast of flowers, the chief feature of which is the elaborate floral parade, had been arranged to coincide with the visit of the President, and he was most impressed by the display.

At Claremont the President spoke to the students of Pomona College, and at Pasadena he remained for two hours, making a short address and visiting the home of Mrs. James A. Garfield. At Redlands, Riverside, San Bernardino, Santa Barbara, Ventura and San Luis Obispo, the President was received with great demonstrations of welcome; at each of these places he made speeches, referring in highest terms of praise to California, whose rapid development, he said, was one of the wonders of the age. He also spoke in glowing terms of the fine physique of California children and the great destiny awaiting them.

A PATHWAY OF FLOWERS

Sunday he spent in Monterey, and on Monday afternoon he arrived in San Jose, where he reviewed the school children in front of the McKinley monument in St. James Square. At Watsonville Mr. Roosevelt said the United States must and will control the Pacific. Stops were made at Del Monte, Pajaro, Santa Clara, Campbell and Santa Cruz. At the latter place his carriage was driven through an avenue of thousands of school children with waving flags, who for a mile scattered flowers along his pathway.

The banquet at San Francisco, which was held at the Palace Hotel, was the culmination of many pleasing incidents. The city gave the Chief Magistrate a rousing welcome. Through miles and miles of cheering humanity he stood in his carriage and bowed his acknowledgment to the enthusiastic crowd.

Before entering his carriage for the parade, which was one of the greatest ever witnessed on the Pacific coast, President Roosevelt went to the locomotive of his train and shook hands with the engineer and fireman, thanking them for having brought him through safely. At the banquet Tuesday evening, Mr. M. H. DeYoung opened the speaking with a welcome to the head of the nation and was followed by brief addresses from Mayor Schmitz and Governor Pardee. When the President arose the applause was deafening. He spoke of the need of wise legislation, the honest enforcement of the laws, and predicted that the forthcoming Congress would dispose of the pressing question relating to banking and currency.

NEVER HIT SOFT

On Wednesday the President attended a military review, received a rousing welcome from thousands of school children

and turned a shovelful of earth for the McKinley monument in Golden Gate Park. In his address upon the latter occasion the President uttered these words:

When in 1898 the war, which President McKinley in all honesty and with all sincerity sought to avoid, became inevitable and was pressed upon him, he met it as he and you had met the crisis of 1861. He did his best to prevent the war. Once it became evident it had to come, he did his best to see that it was ended as quickly and as thoroughly as possible. It is a good lesson for nations and individuals to learn never to hit if it can be helped, but never to hit soft; and I think it is getting to be fairly well understood that is our foreign policy. We do not want to threaten; certainly we do not desire to wrong any man. We are going to keep out of trouble if we possibly can, but if it becomes necessary for our honor and our interest to assert a given position, we shall assert it with every intention of making the assertion good.

At the Mechanics' Pavilion, Wednesday evening, President Roosevelt spoke to an enormous audience on the subject of

EXPANSION AND TRADE DEVELOPMENT

Before I saw the Pacific slope I was an expansionist, and after having seen it I fail to understand how any man, confident of his country's greatness, and glad that his country should challenge with proud confidence our mighty future, can be anything but an expansionist. In the century that is opening, the commerce and the progress of the Pacific will be factors of incalculable moment in the history of the world. Now in our day the greatest of all the oceans, of all the seas, and the last to be used on a large scale by civilized man, bids fair to become in its turn the first in point of importance. Our mighty republic has stretched across the Pacific, and now in California, Oregon and Washington, in Alaska and Hawaii and the Philippines, holds an extent of coast line which makes it of necessity a power of the first class on the Pacific.

The extension in the area of our domain has been immense; the extension in the area of our influence even greater. America's geographical position on the Pacific is such as to insure our peaceful domination of its waters in the future, if only we grasp with sufficient resolution the advantages of this position. We are taking long strides in this direction; witness the cables we are laying down and the great steamship lines we are starting—steamship lines some of whose vessels are larger than any freight carriers the world has yet seen. We have taken the first steps toward digging an isthmian canal, which will make our Atlantic and Pacific coast

lines to all intent and purpose continuous, and will add immensely alike to our commercial and our military and naval strength.

The inevitable march of events gave us the control of the Philippines at a time so opportune that it may without irreverence be held providential. Unless we show ourselves weak, unless we show ourselves degenerate sons of the sires from whose loins we sprang, we must go on with the work that we have begun.

I earnestly hope that this work will always be peaceful in character. We infinitely desire peace, and the surest way to obtain it is to show that we are not afraid of war. We should deal in a spirit of fairness and justice with all weaker nations; we should show to the strongest that we are able to maintain our rights. Such showing cannot be made by bluster, for bluster merely invites contempt. Let us speak courteously, deal fairly and keep ourselves armed and ready. If we do these things we can count on the peace that comes only to the just man armed, to the just man who neither fears nor inflicts wrong. We must keep on building and maintaining a thoroughly efficient navy, with plenty of the best and most formidable ships, with an ample supply of officers and of men, and with these officers and men trained in the most thorough way to the best possible performance of their duty. Only thus can we assure our position in the world at large and in particular our position here on the Pacific.

It behooves all men of lofty soul, who are proud to belong to a mighty nation, to see to it that we fit ourselves to take and keep a great position in the world, for our proper place is with the expanding nations and the nations that dare to be great, that accept with confidence a place of leadership in the world. All our people should take this position, but especially you of California, for much of our expansion must go through the Golden Gate, and the States of the Pacific slope must inevitably be those which would be most benefited by and take the lead in the growth of American influence along the coasts and islands of that mighty ocean where east and west finally become one.

My countrymen, I believe in you with all my heart, and I am proud that it has been granted to me to be a citizen in a nation of such glorious opportunities, and with the wisdom, the hardihood and the courage to rise to the level of its opportunities.

When President Roosevelt bade farewell to San Francisco he smilingly remarked that the City of the Golden Gate had given him everything except sleep. On Thursday the presidential party participated in the dedication of the monument commemorative of Admiral Dewey's victory; attended the

commencement exercises of the University of California, where Mr. Roosevelt received the degree of Doctor of Laws; went aboard the torpedo destroyer Paul Jones; laid the corner stone for the Y. M. C. A. Club at Vallejo; inspected Mare Island navy yards, and wound up the day with a banquet at the Union League Club.

IN A SIERRAN SOLITUDE

Saturday the presidential party, occupying four wagons, entered the Yosemite Valley; but the Chief Executive did not accompany the party. The trail which the President followed was not made public, but it developed later that he and three companions encamped Saturday night near the bank of the Merced in a grove of pines and firs, almost in the spray of the beautiful Bridal Veil Falls.

"Just think where I was last night," said the President, the following morning. "Up there, amid the pines and silver firs in the Sierran solitude—in a snowstorm, too, and without a tent. I passed one of the most pleasant nights of my life."

THROUGH NEVADA AND OREGON

From Sacramento the President set out on his journey for Portland. His trip through Nevada was characterized by time-honored Western hospitality. He made several stops, and at Reno he met Mr. H. J. Barto, one of the Roosevelt Rough Riders, who was with the President in the famous charge up San Juan Hill. At Salem, the capital of Oregon, a stop of three hours was made, and the President delivered an address at the capitol. During his visit to Salem the Executive noticed an invalid child lying upon a stretcher beside the curbing. He stopped his carriage, alighted and kissed the little girl. All along the route to Portland, crowds gathered at stations and gave the President an enthusiastic welcome.

Stops were made at Ashland and Oregon City. The arrival of the presidential train at Portland was heralded by a salute of twenty-one guns, and it drew into the station amid the cheering of an immense crowd, the din of steam whistles, and the playing of bands. The President made two speeches in Portland, one at the dedication of the Lewis and Clark monument and the other at the Hotel Portland.

"NEVER DRAW UNLESS YOU MEAN TO SHOOT"

President Roosevelt entered the State of Washington on Friday, and stopped at a number of places, where he made speeches. At Tacoma, his first speech was made at Wright Park, where he urged that this nation keep on building up its navy in preparation for dominating the Pacific. He said:

I wish to say one word to you here, in this city by the Sound, on our foreign policy and upon what must be the main prop of any good foreign policy—the American navy. In the old days, when I first came to the Little Missouri, there was a motto on the range, "Never draw unless you mean to shoot." That is a pretty sound policy for a nation on foreign affairs. Do not threaten; do not bluster; do not insult other people, above all; but when you make up your mind the situation is such as to require you to take a given position, take it and have it definitely understood that what you say you are ready to make good.

"ARE YOU A UNION MAN?"

On leaving Wright Park, the Masonic Grand Lodge of Washington, together with the Grand Commandery Knights Templars and the Commanderies of Tacoma and Seattle, escorted the Executive to the site of the Masonic Temple, where he laid the corner stone. When the President stepped down from the platform he shook hands with the mason who handed him the trowel, and who asked: "Are you a union man?" The President quickly replied, "Yes, I am working overtime on this." After visiting Seattle, Walla Walla, Wal-

lula, Pasco, Yakima and Ellensburg, the President went to the Coeur d' Alene mining camp in northern Idaho, from which point he doubled back into Washington to return to Spokane, where large crowds greeted him. Stops were next made at Montana City, and at Wallace, Idaho, where, in spite of the fact that rain was pouring heavily, fully ten thousand persons thronged the streets. The President then continued on his way, making a brief address at Harrison, Idaho, from the rear platform of his car.

IN MONTANA AND IDAHO

On Wednesday night, in Butte, Mont., President Roosevelt, in a speech to twenty thousand persons, threw down the gage of battle to the trusts. The President was the guest of the Labor and Trades Assembly of Silver Bow County. As the President was leaving the platform a secret service man shoved aside a militia man. The President censured him and shook hands with the man, remarking that any one in the uniform of a United States soldier was his friend. At Helena, in the morning, the President met many old-time Western friends. One of the first persons he inquired about was John Willis, a hunter and trapper, with whom he had camped years before.

The keynote to President Roosevelt's speech in Pocatello, Idaho, delivered on Friday, May 28th, was justice to the Indians. He said that the race was making progress in education and in the efforts to own property. Short stops were made during the day at Shoshone, Glen's Ferry, Mountain Home, Kimana and Nampa, and at each place he was greeted by cheering crowds. He reached Boise City in the afternoon and left shortly afterwards for Salt Lake City.

SALT LAKE CITY WELCOMES THE PRESIDENT

At the latter place he received an enthusiastic welcome, arriving at 8:30 Friday morning amid the clamor of locomotive and factory whistles, shrill yells of cattle punchers and sheep men, and the enthusiastic cheering of several thousand persons congregated along the streets. Preceding the President's carriage was an escort of mounted police, while fifty Rough Riders, splendidly mounted, and in typical plainsman's attire, acted as a special escort.

Bringing up the rear of the long procession were nearly six hundred mounted cow punchers, many of them having come over one hundred and fifty miles of rough trails to greet the President. The sunburned, brawny plainsmen in their sombreros and blue shirts formed the most picturesque part of the parade, and the President rose in his carriage and bowed in response to their wild cheering. Over nine thousand children greeted the President as he stepped from his carriage and mounted a platform. After speaking a few moments to the little ones, the Chief Executive reviewed the long parade, and then, reëntering his carriage, was driven to the Tabernacle, where an immense audience had assembled.

At Ogden the nation's chief was greeted by thousands gathered from all the counties of northern Utah. At a pavilion, in the public square, he made a brief address, after which he was driven to his train. His next stop was Evanston, Wyo., where he was given an ovation. President Roosevelt arrived at Laramie at 7:30, Saturday morning, and was driven to the University of Wyoming, where he made a short address. About nine o'clock he mounted his horse and started on a sixty-mile ride to Cheyenne, arriving at that city about 5:30 p. m. The President spent Sunday in Cheyenne.

A TYPICAL WYOMING RECEPTION

On Monday, June 1st, a Wild West exhibition was given in his honor. The first event was the presentation to the President of a beautiful horse and a complete riding outfit. The present was the gift of the people of Cheyenne and Douglas. The President responded in a happy vein, saying that it was the best riding animal he had been astride, and asked permission to rechristen the animal Wyoming.

At the conclusion of the wild horse race, which was the next feature, President Roosevelt remarked to Secretary Wilson, who was present:

"That is the finest exhibition I ever witnessed. Whenever Uncle Sam again needs cavalrymen, these are the men we want."

A dozen wild-eyed Texas steers were next turned loose and roped; then followed an exhibition of rough riding. The worst outlaw horses on Wyoming ranches were ridden by Thad Souden, champion rough rider of the world, and others. The climax was reached when "Teddy Roosevelt," terror of Wyoming ranges for many years, was brought out.

The President made but a short stop between Cheyenne and North Platte, Neb., and that was at Sidney, where he delivered a short address, entering Iowa at Council Bluffs early Tuesday morning. At Webster City and Iowa Falls brief halts were made, and at Cedar Rapids President Roosevelt addressed five thousand people from the car platform, speaking particularly to the normal school pupils. Brief stops were also made at Independence and Manchester. The presidential special then proceeded to Dubuque. Here, after a drive about the hills overlooking the Mississippi and a short speech to six thousand school children, the President drove to

the Dubuque Club, where he addressed an immense crowd and was banqueted.

ARRIVAL IN ILLINOIS

President Roosevelt reached Illinois on Wednesday morning. His first stop was at Freeport, the second at Rockford, the third at Rochelle and next came Aurora. After Aurora, Joliet and the steel works gave him welcome. Dwight was next on the itinerary, then Pontiac, next Lexington, and last Bloomington, where he passed the night. At Aurora, noticing a khaki wearer in the crowd, he called him comrade, and then briefly talked on the importance of the army having the most up-to-date weapons. In the course of his speech he said:

A weak man with a poor gun will beat a good man with a club every time.

At Freeport the President attended the unveiling of the monument commemorating the Lincoln-Douglas debate in 1858.

AT THE TOMB OF LINCOLN

Thursday morning, at the tomb of Abraham Lincoln, in Springfield, which was encircled by a corps of colored militiamen, President Roosevelt said among other things:

It was my good fortune at Santiago to serve beside the colored troops. A man who is good enough to shed his blood for his country, is good enough to be given a square deal afterwards.

The President's visit to Lincoln's tomb was one of several of Springfield's efforts to show the Chief Magistrate due homage. The city was decorated; excursion trains had brought thousands of out-of-town visitors; there was a splendid military procession, and a speech in the new Arsenal Building. At the latter place the immense crowd gave the President an enthusiastic ovation, which continued for several minutes. After luncheon in the executive mansion, the Presi-

dent was driven to his train, where a great throng were waiting to wish him Godspeed. He stood on the back platform, waved his hands many times and wished good luck to the people.

There is little more to be said of the President's transcontinental tour. In Decatur some thirty thousand persons saw and heard him; at Danville and Lincoln he was given the same rousing reception that he received in other cities, and at Indianapolis there was a burst of cheers when the President appeared upon the platform in front of the station. Expansion was the theme of his speech in this city, and at the close of his address he was escorted to his train amid the thundering acclamations of the people.

HOME AGAIN

Promptly at seven o'clock, Friday, June 5th, the train, bearing the President and his party, arrived at Washington, and the trip of fourteen thousand miles, during which he made 265 addresses, was ended. The President was given a hearty reception by the citizens, who lined the sidewalks as his carriage, escorted by a battalion of high school cadets, was driven to the White House. The run from Pittsburg to Washington was without incident, none but necessary stops were made, and the only speech by the President was at Altoona. To the crowd surrounding his car he said:

> Gentlemen: I am pleased to see you; I have been on a journey across the continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific and now am back again. The thing that pleased me most was the substantial unity of Americans; wherever he goes—East or West—the President of the United States is at home among his fellow Americans.

The President, upon his arrival at the White House, walked from the north entrance to the south portico and spoke to a

large crowd that had gathered upon the lawn listening to the marine band, while waiting his coming. He said:

I did not know there were so many people in Washington. I appreciate the welcome you have given me and I am glad to be back with you. I hope, however, that I may be excused, for you know my family is awaiting me and I want to be with them.

The President then withdrew and, surrounded by his family, had dinner.

CHAPTER XVI

THE CONVENTION ASSEMBLES

Elihu Root Made Chairman—A Remarkable Speech—Difficult Problems—Will of the People Must Govern — Assurance of Good Government — Candidates of Proved Competency—Past Achievements—Sound Currency — Trust Regulations — Practical Laws — Trade Doubled — The Isthmian Canal—Monroe Doctrine Upheld—Army and Navy Strengthened—Tribute to Roosevelt.

The first session of the Republican National Convention was called to order in the Coliseum, Chicago, at 12.14, Tuesday, June 21, 1904, by Postmaster General Henry C. Payne, acting chairman of the national committee.

The call for the convention, dated from Washington, January 16th, and signed by Senator Hanna, was then read. When the reading clerk reached the name of Senator Hanna the applause was loud and prolonged. Chairman Payne then said, "The Republican National Committee has selected for your temporary chairman Elihu Root of New York, and presents his name for your acceptance."

Governor Odell of New York then moved that the action of the national committee in the selection of the temporary chairman be approved. The motion was unanimously carried and Temporary Chairman Root was introduced. He addressed the convention as follows:

TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN ROOT'S ADDRESS

The responsibility of government rests upon the Republican party. The complicated machinery through which the eighty million people of the United States

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT AND PRINCE HENRY

Representatives of foreign governments at Washington have nothing but admiration and respect for President Roosevelt. They are unanimous in their praise of the information he possesses of the people and institutions of other nations. Prince Henry of Prussia, during his visit to this country, said that President Roosevelt had done much to strengthen the ties of friendship between Germany and the United States.

SAGAMORE HILL

Sagamore Hill, the President's country home, is about two miles from the village of Oyster Bay, and thither President Roosevelt goes every summer for recreation and rest. Visitors who have an appointment with him drive from the station to the Secretary's office when their names are telephoned to the residence. This relieves the President from the annoyance of unwelcome visitors.

INTERIOR VIEW OF PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S COUNTRY HOME

Although born to wealth and refinement President Roosevelt is simple in his tastes. The above photograph of the drawing-room in his house at Oyster Bay is indicative of the chief executive's home life. It will be noticed that the furnishings and decorations are extremely modest. The skin of the grizzly on the floor is one of Mr. Roosevelt's favorite hunting trophies.

EXTERIOR VIEW OF THE COLISEUM AT CHICAGO.

The above photograph was taken while the balloting for President was in progress.

govern themselves answers to no single will. The composite government devised by the framers of the constitution to meet the conditions of national life more than a century ago requires the willing coöperations of many minds, the combination of many independent factors, in every forward step for the general welfare.

The president at Washington with his cabinet, the ninety senators representing forty-five sovereign States, the 386 representatives in Congress, are required to reach concurrent action upon a multitude of questions involving varied and conflicting interests and requiring investigation, information, discussion, and reconciliation of views. From all over our vast territory, with its varieties of climate and industry, from all our great population, active in production and commerce and social progress and intellectual and moral life to a degree never before attained by any people—difficult problems press upon the national government.

WILL OF THE PEOPLE MUST GOVERN

Within the last five years more than sixty-six thousand bills have been introduced in Congress. Some method of selection must be followed. There must be some preliminary process to ascertain the general tenor of public judgment upon the principles to be applied in government, and some organization and recognition of leadership which shall bring a legislative majority and the executive into accord in the practical application of those principles; or effective government becomes impossible.

The practical governing instinct of our people has adapted the machinery devised in the eighteenth to the conditions of the twentieth century by the organization of national political parties. In them men join for the promotion of a few cardinal principles upon which they agree. For the sake of those principles they lay aside their differences upon less important questions. To represent those principles and to carry on the government in accordance with them, they present to the people candidates whose competency and loyalty they approve. The people by their choice of candidates indicate the principles and methods which they wish followed in the conduct of their government. They do not merely choose between men; they choose between parties—between the principles they profess, the methods they follow, the trustworthiness of their professions, the inferences to be drawn from the records of their past, the general weight of character of the body of men who will be brought into participation in government by their ascendency.

EPOCH IN THE LIFE OF THE PARTY

When the course of the next administration is but half-done the Republican party will have completed the first half-century of its national life. Of the eleven administrations since the first election of Abraham Lincoln, nine—covering a period

of thirty-six years—have been under Republican presidents. For the greater part of that time, the majority in each house of Congress has been Republican. History affords no parallel in any age or country for the growth in national greatness and power and honor, the wide diffusion of the comforts of life, the uplifting of the great mass of the people above the hard conditions of poverty, the common opportunity for education and individual advancement, the universal possession of civil and religious liberty, the protection of property and security of the rewards of industry and enterprise, the cultivation of national morality, respect for religion, sympathy with humanity, and love of liberty and justice, which have marked the life of the American people during this long period of Republican control.

ASKS CONTINUANCE OF CONFIDENCE

With the platform and the candidates of this convention we are about to ask a renewed expression of popular confidence in the Republican party.

We shall ask it because the principles to which we declare our adherence are right, and the best interests of our country require that they should be followed in its government.

We shall ask it because the unbroken record of the Republican party in the past is an assurance of the sincerity of our declarations and the fidelity with which we shall give them effect. Because we have been constant in principle, loyal to our beliefs, and faithful to our promises we are entitled to be believed and trusted now.

PARTY CHARACTER IS ASSURANCE

We shall ask it because the character of the party gives assurance of good government. A great political organization, competent to govern, is not a chance collection of individuals brought together for the moment as the shifting sands are piled up by wind and sea, to be swept away, to be formed and re-formed again. It is a growth. Traditions and sentiments reaching down through struggles of years gone, and the stress and heat of old conflicts and the influence of leaders passed away, and the ingrained habit of applying fixed rules of interpretation and of thought—all give to a political party known and inalienable qualities from which must follow in its deliberate judgment and ultimate action like results for good or bad government.

We do not deny that other parties have in their membership men of morality and patriotism; but we assert with confidence that above all others, by the influences which gave it birth and have maintained its life, by the causes for which it has striven, the ideals which it has followed, the Republican party as a party has acquired a character which makes its ascendency the best guarantee of a government loyal to principle and effective in execution. Through it more than any other political organization the moral sentiment of America finds expression. It cannot depart

from the direction of its tendencies. From what it has been may be known certainly what it must be. Not all of us rise to its standard; not all of us are worthy of its glorious history; but as a whole this great political organization—the party of Lincoln and McKinley—cannot fail to work in the spirit of its past and in loyalty to great ideals.

CANDIDATES OF PROVED COMPETENCY

We shall ask the continued confidence of the people because the candidates whom we present are of proved competency and patriotism, fitted to fill the offices for which they are nominated to the credit and honor of our country.

We shall ask it because the present policies of our government are beneficial and ought not to be set aside; and the people's business is being well done and ought not to be interfered with.

Have not the American people reason for satisfaction and pride in the conduct of their government since the election of 1900, when they rendered their judgment of approval upon the first administration of President McKinley? Have we not had an honest government? Have not the men selected for office been men of good reputation, who by their past lives had given evidence that they were honest and competent? Can any private business be pointed out in which lapses from honesty have been so few and so trifling proportionately as in the public service of the United States? And when they have occurred have not the offenders been relentlessly prosecuted and sternly punished without regard to political or personal relations?

POINTS TO PAST ACHIEVEMENTS

Have we not had an effective government? Have not the laws been enforced? Has not the slow process of legislative discussion upon many serious questions been brought to practical conclusions, embodied in beneficial statutes? And has not the executive proceeded without vacillation or weakness to give these effect? Are not the laws of the United States obeyed at home, and does not our government command respect and honor throughout the world?

Have we not had a safe and conservative government? Has not property been protected? Are not the fruits of enterprise and industry secure? What safeguard of the constitution for vested right or individual freedom has not been scrupulously observed? When has any American administration ever dealt more considerately and wisely with questions which might have been the cause of conflict with foreign powers? When have more just settlements been reached by peaceful means? When has any administration wielded a more powerful influence for peace? And when have we rested more secure in friendship with all mankind?

BURDENSOME TAXES REMOVED

Four years ago the business of the country was loaded with burdensome internal taxes imposed during the war with Spain. By the acts of March 2, 1901, and April 12, 1902, the country has been wholly relieved of that annual burden of over $100,000,000; and the further accumulation of a surplus which was constantly withdrawing the money of the country from circulation has been prevented by the reduction of taxation.

Between June 30, 1900, and June 1, 1904, our treasury department collected in revenues the enormous sum of $2,203,000,000 and expended $2,028,000,000, leaving us with a surplus of over $170,000,000, after paying the $50,000,000 for the Panama Canal and loaning $4,600,000 to the St. Louis Exposition. Excluding those two extraordinary payments, which are investments from past surplus and not expenditures of current income, the surplus for this year will be the reasonable amount of about $12,000,000.

CURRENCY ON A STABLE BASIS

The vast and complicated transactions of the treasury, which for the last fiscal year show actual cash receipts of $4,250,290,262 and disbursements of $4,113,199,414, have been conducted with perfect accuracy and fidelity, and without the loss of a dollar. Under wise management, the financial act of March 14, 1900, which embodied the sound financial principles of the Republican party and provided for the maintenance of our currency on the stable basis of the gold standard, has wrought out beneficial results.

On the 1st of November, 1899, the interest-bearing debt of the United States was $1,046,049,020. On the 1st of May last the amount of that debt was $895,157,440, a reduction of $150,891,580. By refunding, the annual interest has been still more rapidly reduced from $40,347,884 on the 1st of November, 1899, to $24,176,745 on the 1st of June, 1904, an annual saving of over $16,000,000.

BANKING FACILITIES INCREASED

When the financial act was passed the thinly settled portions of our country were suffering for lack of banking facilities, because the banks were in the large towns, and none could be organized with a capital of less than $50,000. Under the provisions of that act there were organized down to the 1st of May last, 1,296 small banks of $25,000 capital, furnishing, under all the safeguards of the national banking system, facilities to the small communities of the West and South. The facilities made possible by that act have increased the circulation of national banks from $254,402,730 on the 14th of March, 1900, to $445,988,565 on the 1st of June, 1904.

The money of the country in circulation has not only increased in amount with

our growth in business, but it has steadily gained in the stability of the basis on which it rests. On the 1st of March, 1897, when the first administration of McKinley began, we had in the country, including bullion in the treasury, $1,806,272,076. This was $23.14 per capita for our population, and of this 38.893 per cent was gold. On the 1st of March, 1901, when the second administration of McKinley began, the money in the country was $2,467,295,228. This was $28.34 per capita, and of this 45.273 per cent was gold. On the 1st of May last the money in the country was $2,814,985,446, which was $31.02 per capita, and of it 48.028 per cent was gold.

FINANCES ARE WISELY ORDERED

This great increase of currency has been arranged in such a way that the large government notes in circulation are gold certificates, while the silver certificates and greenbacks are of small denominations. As the large gold certificates represent gold actually on deposit, their presentation at the treasury in exchange for gold can never infringe upon the gold reserve. As the small silver certificates and greenbacks are always in active circulation, no large amount of them can be accumulated for the purpose of drawing on the gold reserve; and thus, while every man can get a gold dollar for every dollar of the government's currency, the endless chain which we were once taught to fear so much, has been effectively put out of business.

The secretary of the treasury has shown himself mindful of the needs of business and has so managed our finances as himself to expand and contract our currency as occasion has required. When in the fall of 1902 the demand for funds to move the crops caused extraordinary money stringency, the secretary exercised his lawful right to accept State and municipal bonds as security for public deposits, thus liberating United States bonds, which were used for additional circulation. When the crops were moved and the stringency was over he called for a withdrawal of the State and municipal securities, and thus contracted the currency. Again, in 1903, under similar conditions, he produced similar results. The payment of the $50,000,000 for the Panama Canal, made last month without causing the slightest disturbance in finance, showed good judgment, and a careful consideration of the interests of business upon which our people may confidently rely.

TELLS OF TRUST REGULATION

Four years ago the regulation by law of the great corporate combinations called "trusts" stood substantially where it was when the Sherman anti-trust act of 1890 was passed. President Cleveland, in his last message of December, 1896, had said:

"Though Congress has attempted to deal with this matter by legislation, the laws passed for that purpose thus far have proved ineffective, not because of any

lack of disposition or attempt to enforce them, but simply because the laws themselves as interpreted by the courts do not reach the difficulty. If the insufficiencies of existing laws can be remedied by further legislation, it should be done. The fact must be recognized, however, that all federal legislation on this subject may fall short of its purpose because of inherent obstacles and also because of the complex character of our governmental system, which, while making federal authority supreme within its sphere, has carefully limited that sphere by metes and bounds that cannot be transgressed."

At every election the regulation of trusts had been the football of campaign oratory, and the subject of many insincere declarations.

QUOTES MESSAGE OF ROOSEVELT

Our Republican administration has taken up the subject in a practical, sensible way, as a business rather than a political question, saying what it really meant, and doing what lay at its hand to be done to accomplish effective regulation. The principles upon which the government proceeded were stated by the President in his message of December, 1902. He said:

"A fundamental base of civilization is the inviolability of property; but this is in no wise inconsistent with the right of society to regulate the exercise of the artificial powers which it confers upon the owners of property, under the name of corporate franchises, in such a way as to prevent the misuse of these powers. . . .

"We can do nothing of good in the way of regulating and supervising these corporations until we fix clearly in our minds that we are not attacking the corporations, but endeavoring to do away with any evil in them. We are not hostile to them; we are merely determined that they shall be so handled as to subserve the public good. We draw the line against misconduct, not against wealth. . . .

"In curbing and regulating the combinations of capital which are or may become injurious to the public we must be careful not to stop the great enterprises which have legitimately reduced the cost of production, not to abandon the place which our country has won in the leadership of the international industrial world, not to strike down wealth with the result of closing factories and mines, of turning the wage-worker idle in the streets, and leaving the farmer without a market for what he grows. . . .

"I believe that monopolies, unjust discriminations, which prevent or cripple competition, fraudulent over-capitalization, and other evils in trust organizations, and practices which injuriously affect interstate trade, can be prevented under the power of the Congress to 'regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several States,' through regulations and requirements operating directly upon such commerce, the instrumentalities thereof, and those engaged therein."

PRACTICAL LAWS ARE APPLIED

After long consideration, Congress passed three practical statutes; on the 11th of February, 1903, an act to expedite hearings in suits in enforcement of the anti-trust act; on the 14th of February, 1903, the act creating a new department of commerce and labor, with a bureau of corporations, having authority to secure systematic information regarding the organization and operation of corporations engaged in interstate commerce; and on the 19th of February, 1903, an act enlarging the powers of the interstate commerce commission and of the courts, to deal with secret rebates in transportation charges, which are the chief means by which the trusts crush out their smaller competitors.

The attorney-general has gone on in the same practical way, not to talk about the trusts, but to proceed against the trusts by law for their regulation. In separate suits fourteen of the great railroads of the country have been restrained by injunction from giving illegal rebates to the favored shippers, who by means of them were driving out the smaller shippers and monopolizing the grain and meat business of the country. The beef trust was put under injunction. The officers of the railroads engaged in the cotton carrying pool, affecting all that great industry of the South, were indicted and have abandoned their combination. The Northern Securities Company, which undertook by combining in one ownership the capital stocks of the Northern Pacific and Great Northern railroads to end traffic competition in the Northwest, has been destroyed by a vigorous prosecution expedited and brought to a speedy and effective conclusion in the Supreme Court under the act of February 11, 1903.

QUOTES FROM ATTORNEY-GENERAL

The attorney-general says:

"Here, then, are four phases of the attack on the combinations in restraint of trade and commerce—the railroad injunction suits, the cotton pool cases, the beef trust cases, and the Northern Securities case. The first relates to the monopoly produced by secret and preferential rates for railroad transportation; the second, to railroad traffic pooling; the third, to a combination of independent corporations to fix and maintain extortionate prices for meats; and the fourth, to a corporation organized to merge into itself the control of parallel and competing lines of railroad and to eliminate competition in their rates of transportation."

The right of the interstate commerce commission to compel the production of books and papers has been established by the judgment of the Supreme Court in a suit against the coal carrying roads. Other suits have been brought and other indictments have been found, and other trusts have been driven back within legal bounds. No investment in lawful business has been jeopardized, no fair and honest enter-

prise has been injured; but it is certain that wherever the constitutional power of the national government reaches, trusts are being practically regulated and curbed within lawful bounds as they never have been before, and the men of small capital are finding in the efficiency and skill of the national department of justice a protection they never had before against the crushing effect of unlawful combinations.

PUBLIC LAND PRESENTS PROBLEM

We have at last reached a point where the public wealth of farm land which has seemed so inexhaustible is nearly gone, and the problem of utilizing the remainder for the building of new homes has become of vital importance.

The present administration has dealt with this problem vigorously and effectively. Great areas had been unlawfully fenced in by men of large means, and the home builder had been excluded. Many of these unlawful aggressors have been compelled to relinquish their booty, and more than 2,000,000 acres of land have been restored to the public. Extensive frauds in procuring grants of land, not for homesteads but for speculation, have been investigated and stopped, and the perpetrators have been indicted and are being actively prosecuted.

RECLAMATION WORK SYSTEMATIZED

A competent commission has been constituted to examine into the defective working of the existing laws and to suggest practical legislation to prevent further abuse. That commission has reported, and bills adequate to accomplish the purpose have been framed and are before Congress. The further denudation of forest areas, producing alternate floods and dryness in our river valleys, has been checked by the extension of forest reserves, which have been brought to aggregate more than 63,000,000 acres of land. The reclamation by irrigation of the vast arid regions forming the chief part of our remaining public domain, has been provided for by the national reclamation law of June 17, 1903.

The execution of this law, without taxation and by the application of the proceeds of public land sales alone, through the construction of storage reservoirs for water, will make many millions of acres of fertile lands available for settlement. Over $20,000,000 from these sources have been already received to the credit of the reclamation fund. Over 33,000,000 acres of public lands in fourteen States and Territories have been embraced in the sixty-seven projects which have been devised and are under examination, and on eight of these the work of actual construction has begun.

POSTAL SERVICE IS IMPROVED

The postal service has been extended and improved. Its revenues have increased from $76,000,000 in 1895 to $95,000,000 in 1899, and $144,000,000 in 1904. In dealing with these vast sums a few cases of peculation, trifling in amount and by

subordinate officers, have occurred there, as they occur in every business. Neither fear nor favor, nor political or personal influence has availed to protect the wrong-doers. Their acts have been detected, investigated, laid bare; they have been dismissed from their places, prosecuted criminally, indicted, many of them tried, and many of them convicted. The abuses in the carriage of second-class mail matter have been remedied.

The rural free delivery has been widely extended. It is wholly the creation of Republican administration. The last Democratic postmaster-general declared it impracticable. The first administration of McKinley proved the contrary. At the beginning of the fiscal year 1899 there were about 200 routes in operation. There are now more than 25,000 routes, bringing a daily mail service to more than 12,000,000 of our people in the rural communities, enlarging the circulation of the newspaper and the magazine, increasing communication, and relieving the isolation of life on the farm.

GIVES HELP TO THE FARMERS

The department of agriculture has been brought to a point of efficiency and practical benefit never before known. The oleomargarine act of May 9, 1902, now sustained in the Supreme Court, and the act of July 1, 1902, to prevent the false branding of food and dairy products, protect farmers against fraudulent imitations. The act of February 2, 1903, enables the secretary of agriculture to prevent the spread of contagious and infectious diseases of live stock. Rigid inspection has protected our cattle against infection from abroad, and has established the highest credit for our meat products in the markets of the world. The earth has been searched for weapons with which to fight the enemies that destroy the growing crops.

An insect brought from near the Great Wall of China has checked the San Jose scale, which was destroying our orchards; a parasitic fly brought from South Africa is exterminating the black scale in the lemon and orange groves of California; and an ant from Guatemala is about offering battle to the boll weevil. Broad science has been brought to the aid of limited experience. Study of the relations between plant life and climate and soil has been followed by the introduction of special crops suited to our varied conditions.

SCIENCE ADDS TO CROP YIELD

The introduction of just the right kind of seed has enabled the Gulf States to increase our rice crop from 115,000,000 pounds in 1898 to 400,000,000 pounds in 1903, and to supply the entire American demand, with a surplus for export. The right kind of sugar beet has increased our annual production of beet sugar by over 200,000 tons. Seed brought from countries of little rainfall is producing millions of bushels of grain on lands which a few years ago were deemed a hopeless part of the arid belt.

The systematic collection and publication of information regarding the magnitude and conditions of our crops is mitigating the injury done by speculation to the farmer's market.

To increase the profit of the farmer's toil, to protect the farmer's product and extend his market, and to improve the conditions of the farmer's life; to advance the time when America shall raise within her own limits every product of the soil consumed by her own people, as she makes within her own limits every necessary product of manufacture—these have been cardinal objects of Republican administration; and we show a record of practical things done toward the accomplishment of these objects never before approached.

PLEDGE GIVEN TO CUBA KEPT

Four years ago we held the island of Cuba by military occupation. The opposition charged, and the people of Cuba believed, that we did not intend to keep the pledge of April 20, 1898, that when the pacification of Cuba was accomplished we should leave the government and control of the island to its people. The new policy towards Cuba which should follow the fulfillment of that pledge was unformed. During the four years it has been worked out in detail and has received effect. It was communicated by executive order to the military governor. It was embodied in the act of Congress known as the Platt amendment. It was accepted by the Cuban constitutional convention on the 12th of October, 1901. It secured to Cuba her liberty and her independence, but it required her to maintain them. It forbade her ever to use the freedom we had earned for her by so great a sacrifice of blood and treasure to give the island to any other power; it required her to maintain a government adequate for the protection of life and property and liberty, and should she fail, it gave us the right to intervene for the maintenance of such a government. And it gave us the right to naval stations upon her coast for the protection and defense alike of Cuba and the United States.

NEW REPUBLIC FOSTERED

On the 20th of May, 1902, under a constitution which embodied these stipulations, the government and control of Cuba were surrendered to the president and congress elected by her people, and the American army sailed away. The new republic began its existence with an administration of Cubans completely organized in all its branches and trained to effective service by American officers. The administration of President Palma has been wise and efficient. Peace and order have prevailed. The people of Cuba are prosperous and happy. Her finances have been honestly administered and her credit is high.

The naval stations have been located and bounded at Guantanamo and Bahia

Honda, and are in possession of our navy. The Platt amendment is the sheet anchor of Cuban independence and of Cuban credit. No such revolutions as have afflicted Central and South America are possible there, because it is known to all men that an attempt to overturn the foundations of that government will be confronted by the overwhelming power of the United States.

HOLD THE CONFIDENCE OF CUBANS

The treaty of reciprocity and the act of Congress of December 6, 1903, which confirmed it, completed the expression of our policy towards Cuba; which, with a far view to the future, aims to bind to us by ties of benefit and protection, of mutual interest and genuine friendship, that island which guards the Caribbean and the highway to the isthmus, and must always be, if hostile, an outpost of attack, and, if friendly, an outpost of defense for the United States. Rich as we are, the American people have no more valuable possession than the sentiment expressed in the dispatch which I will now read:

"Havana, May 20, 1902.—Theodore Roosevelt, President, Washington: The government of the island having been just transferred, I, as chief magistrate of the republic, faithfully interpreting the sentiment of the whole people of Cuba, have the honor to send you and the American people testimony of our profound gratitude and the assurance of an enduring friendship, with wishes and prayers to the Almighty for the welfare and prosperity of the United States.

"T. Estrada Palma."

PEACE ACHIEVED IN PHILIPPINES

When the last national convention met, the Philippines also were under military rule. The insurrectos from the mountains spread terror among the peaceful people by midnight foray and secret assassination. Aguinaldo bided his time in a secret retreat. Over seventy thousand American soldiers from more than five hundred stations held a still vigorous enemy in check. The Philippine commission had not yet begun its work.

The last vestige of the insurrection has been swept away. With their work accomplished, over 55,000 American troops have been brought back across the Pacific. Civil government has been established throughout the archipelago. Peace and order and justice prevail. The Philippine commission, guided at first by executive order, and then by the wise legislation of Congress in the Philippine government act of July 1, 1902, have established and conducted a government which has been a credit to their country and a blessing to the people of the islands. The body of laws which they have enacted, upon careful and intelligent study of the needs of the country, challenges comparison with the statutes of any country.

GOOD GOVERNMENT IN THE ISLANDS

The personnel of civil government has been brought together under an advanced and comprehensive civil service law, which has been rigidly enforced. A complete census has been taken, designed to be there, as it was in Cuba, the basis for representative government; and the people of the islands will soon proceed, under provisions already made by Congress, to the election of a representative assembly, in which, for the first time in their history, they may have a voice in the making of their own laws. In the meantime the local and provincial governments are in the hands of officers elected by the Filipinos; and in the great central offices, in the commission, on the bench, in the executive departments, the most distinguished men of the Filipino race are taking their part in the government of their people.

A free school system has been established and hundreds of thousands of children are learning lessons which will help fit them for self-government. The seeds of religious strife existing in the bitter controversy between the people and the religious orders have been deprived of potency for harm by the purchase of the friars' lands, and their practical withdrawal. By the act of Congress of March 2, 1903, a gold standard has been established to take the place of the fluctuating silver currency. The unit of value is made exactly one-half the value of the American gold dollar, so that American money is practically part of their currency system. To enable the Philippine government to issue this new currency, $6,000,000 was borrowed by them in 1903 in the city of New York, and it was borrowed at a net interest charge of 1⅝ per cent per annum. The trade of the islands has increased, notwithstanding adverse conditions.

TRADE ALMOST DOUBLED

During the last five years of peace under Spanish rule, the average total trade of the islands was less than $36,000,000. During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1903, the trade of the islands was over $66,000,000. There is but one point of disturbance, and that is in the country of the Mohammedan Moros, where there is an occasional fitful savage outbreak against the enforcement of the law recently made to provide for adequate supervision and control and to put an end to the practice of human slavery.

When Governor Taft sailed from Manila in December last to fill the higher office where he will still guard the destinies of the people for whom he has done such great and noble service, he was followed to the shore by a mighty throng, not of repressed and sullen subjects, but of free and peaceful people, whose tears and prayers of affectionate farewell showed that they had already begun to learn that "our flag has not lost its gift of benediction in its world-wide journey to their shores."

None can foretell the future; but there seems no reasonable cause to doubt that under the policy already effectively inaugurated, the institutions already implanted, and the process already begun, in the Philippine islands, if these be not repressed and interrupted, the Philippine people will follow in the footsteps of the people of Cuba; that more slowly indeed, because they are not as advanced, yet as surely, they will grow in capacity for self-government, and receiving power as they grow in capacity, will come to bear substantially such relations to the people of the United States as do now the people of Cuba, differing in details as conditions and needs differ, but the same in principle and the same in beneficent results.

CANAL PROBLEM IS SOLVED

In 1900 the project of an isthmian canal stood where it was left by the Clayton-Bulwer treaty of 1850. For half a century it had halted, with Great Britain resting upon a joint right of control, and the great undertaking of De Lesseps struggling against the doom of failure imposed by extravagance and corruption. On the 18th of November, 1901, the Hay-Pauncefote treaty with Great Britain relieved the enterprise of the right of British control and left that right exclusively in the United States.

Then followed swiftly the negotiations and protocols with Nicaragua; the isthmian canal act of June 28, 1902; the just agreement with the French Canal Company to pay them the value of the work they had done; the negotiations and ratification of the treaty with Colombia; the rejection of that treaty by Colombia in violation of our rights and the world's right to the passage of the isthmus; the seizure by Panama of the opportunity to renew her oft-repeated effort to throw off the hateful and oppressive yoke of Colombia and resume the independence which once had been hers, and of which she had been deprived by fraud and force; the success of the revolution; our recognition of the new republic, followed by recognition from substantially all the civilized powers of the world; the treaty with Panama recognizing and confirming our right to construct the canal; the ratification of the treaty by the Senate; confirmatory legislation by Congress; the payment of the $50,000,000 to the French company and to Panama; the appointment of the canal commission in accordance with law; and its organization to begin the work.

HONOR OF THE NATION MAINTAINED

The action of the United States at every step has been in accordance with the law of nations, consistent with the principles of justice and honor, in discharge of the trust to build the canal we long since assumed by denying the right of every other power to build it, dictated by a high and unselfish purpose, for the common benefit of all mankind. That action was wise, considerate, prompt, vigorous, and effective; and now the greatest of constructive nations stands ready and competent to begin

and to accomplish the great enterprise which shall realize the dreams of past ages, bind together our Atlantic and Pacific coasts, and open a new highway for that commerce of the Orient whose course has controlled the rise and fall of civilizations. Success in that enterprise greatly concerns the credit and honor of the American people, and it is for them to say whether the building of the canal shall be in charge of men who made its building possible or of the weaklings whose incredulous objections would have postponed it for another generation.

Throughout the world the diplomacy of the present administration has made for peace and justice among nations. Clear-sighted to perceive and prompt to maintain American interests, it has been sagacious and simple and direct in its methods, and considerate of the rights and of the feelings of others.

CANADA DISPUTE ARBITRATED

Upon our own continent a dispute with Canada over the boundary of Alaska had been growing more acute for thirty years. A multitude of miners, swift to defend their own rights by force, were locating mining claims under the laws of both countries in the disputed territory. At any moment a fatal affray between Canadian and American miners was liable to begin a conflict in which all British Columbia would be arrayed on one side and all our Northwest upon the other. Agreement was impossible. But the Alaskan boundary treaty of January 24, 1903, provided a tribunal for the decision of the controversy; and upon legal proofs and reasoned argument, an appeal has been had from prejudice and passion to judicial judgment; and under the lead of a great chief justice of England, who held the sacred obligations of his judicial office above all other considerations, the dispute has been settled forever and substantially in accordance with the American contention.

UPHELD THE HAGUE TRIBUNAL

In 1900 the first administration of McKinley had played a great part in establishing The Hague Tribunal for international arbitration. The prevailing opinion of Europe was incredulous as to the practical utility of the provision, and anticipated a paper tribunal unsought by litigants. It was the example of the United States which set at naught this opinion. The first international case taken to The Hague Tribunal was under our protocol with Mexico of May 22, 1902, submitting our contention for the rights of the Roman Catholic Church in California to a share of the church moneys held by the Mexican government before the cession, and known as the pious fund, and the first decision of the tribunal was an award in our favor upon that question.

VENEZUELA SAVED FROM WAR

When in 1903 the failure of Venezuela to pay her just debts led England, Germany, and Italy to warlike measures for the collection of their claims, an appeal by

Venezuela to our government resulted in agreements upon arbitration in place of the war, and in a request that our President should act as arbitrator. Again he promoted the authority and prestige of The Hague Tribunal and was able to lead all the powers to submit the crucial questions in controversy to the determination of that court. It is due greatly to support by the American government that this agency for peace has disappointed the expectations of its detractors, and by demonstrations of practical usefulness has begun a career fraught with possibilities of incalculable benefit to mankind.

On the 11th of April, 1903, was proclaimed another convention between all the great powers, agreeing upon more humane rules for the conduct of war; and these in substance incorporated and gave the sanction of the civilized world to the rules drafted by Francis Lieber and approved by Abraham Lincoln for the conduct of the armies of the United States in the field.

LEADERSHIP OF NATIONS GAINED

All Americans who desire safe and conservative administration which shall avoid cause of quarrel, all who abhor war, all who long for the perfect sway of the principles of that religion which we all profess, should rejoice that under this Republican administration their country has attained a potent leadership among the nations in the cause of peace and international justice.

The respect and moral power thus gained has been exercised in the interests of humanity, where the rules of diplomatic intercourse have made formal intervention impossible. When the Roumanian outrages and when the appalling massacre at Kishineff shocked civilization and filled thousands of our own people with mourning, the protest of America was heard through the voice of its government, with full observance of diplomatic rules, but with moral power and effect.

MONROE DOCTRINE IS UPHELD

We have advanced the authority of the Monroe Doctrine. Our adherence to the convention which established The Hague Tribunal was accepted by the other powers, with a formal declaration that nothing therein contained should be construed to imply the relinquishment by the United States of its traditional attitude toward purely American questions. The armed demonstration by European powers against Venezuela was made the occasion for disclaimers to the United States of any intention to seize the territory of Venezuela, recognizing in the most unmistakable way the rights of the United States expressed in the declaration of that traditional policy.

In the meantime, mindful that moral powers unsupported by physical strength do not always avail against selfishness and aggression, we have been augmenting the forces which command respect.

ARMY AND NAVY STRENGTHENED

We have brought our navy to a high state of efficiency and have exercised both army and navy in the methods of seacoast defense. The joint army and navy board has been bringing the two services together in good understanding and the common study of the strategy, the preparation, and the coöperation which will make them effective in time of need. Our ships have been exercised in fleet and squadron movements, have been improved in marksmanship and mobility, and have been constantly tested by use. Since the last national convention met we have completed and added to our navy five battleships, four cruisers, four monitors, thirty-four torpedo destroyers and torpedo boats, while we have put under construction thirteen battleships and thirteen cruisers.

Four years ago our army numbered over 100,000 men—regulars and volunteers—75 per cent of them in the Philippines and China. Under the operation of statutes limiting the period of service, it was about to lapse back into its old and insufficient number of 27,000, and its old and insufficient organization under the practical control of permanent staff departments at Washington, with the same divisions of counsel and lack of coördinating and directing power at the head, that led to confusion and scandal in the war with Spain. During the last four years the lessons taught by that war have received practical effect.

SHERMAN'S TEACHINGS RESPECTED

The teachings of Sherman and of Upton have been recalled and respected. Congress has fixed a maximum of the army at 100,000 and a minimum at 60,000, so that maintaining only the minimum in peace, as we now do, when war threatens the president may begin preparations by filling the ranks to the maximum without waiting until after war has begun, as he had to wait in 1898. Permanent staff appointments have been changed to details from the line, with compulsory returns at fixed intervals to service with troops, so that the requirements of the field and the camp rather than the requirements of the office desk shall control the departments of administration and supply.

A corps organization has been provided for our artillery, with a chief of artillery at the head, so that there may be intelligent use of our costly seacoast defenses. Under the act of February 14, 1903, a general staff has been established, organized to suit American conditions and requirements and adequate for the performance of the long neglected but all-important duties of directing military education and training, and applying the most advanced principles of military science to that necessary preparation for war, which is the surest safeguard of peace.

The command of the army now rests where it is placed by the constitution—in the president. His power is exercised through a military chief of staff pledged by

WILLIAM B. ALLISON

UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM IOWA

From a Photo by Purdy of Boston
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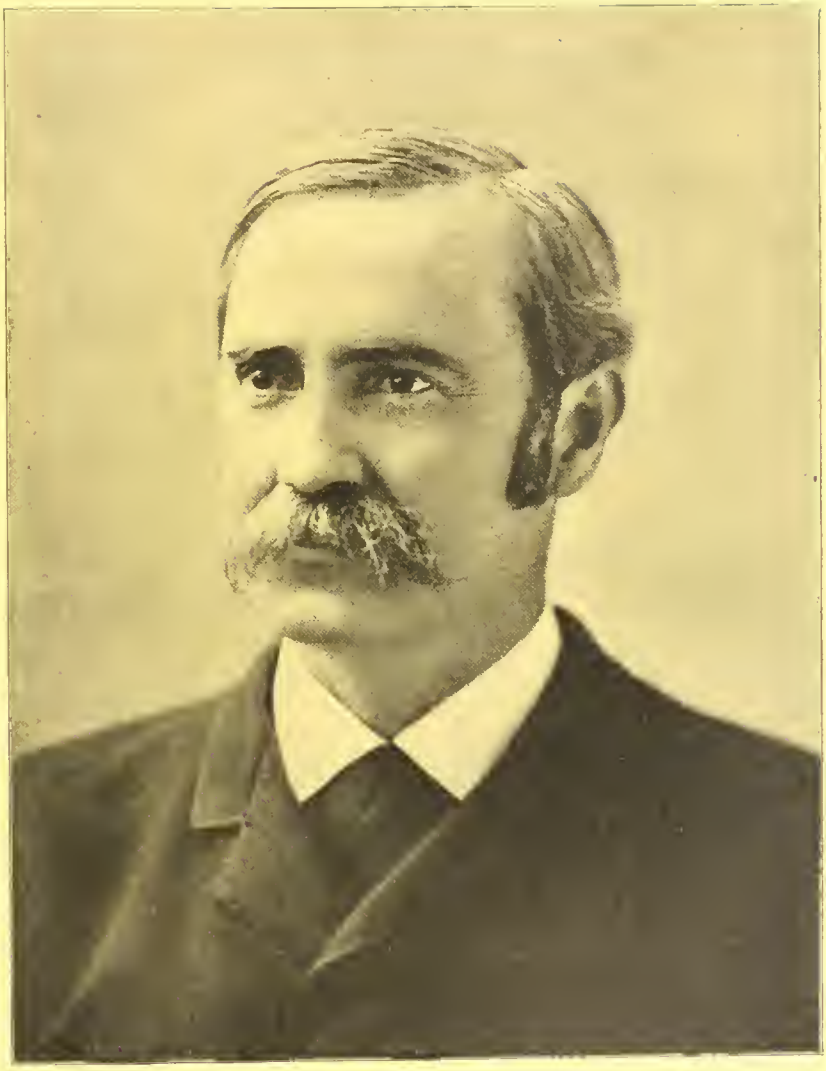
GEORGE F. HOAR

UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM MASSACHUSETTS



NELSON W. ALDRICH

RHODE ISLAND

EDWARD O. WOLCOTT

COLORADO

the conditions and tenure of his office to confidence in and loyalty to his commander. Thus civilian control of the military arm, upon which we must always insist, is reconciled with that military efficiency which can be obtained only under the direction of the trained military expert.

MILITIA SYSTEM IS IMPROVED

Four years ago we were living under an obsolete militia law, more than a century old, which Washington, and Jefferson, and Madison, and almost every president since their time, had declared to be worthless. We presented the curious spectacle of a people depending upon a citizen soldiery for protection against aggression, and making practically no provision whatever for training its citizens in the use of warlike weapons or in the elementary duties of the soldier. The mandate of the constitution which required Congress to provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia had been left unexecuted.

In default of national provisions, bodies of State troops, created for local purposes and supported at local expense, had grown up throughout the Union. Their feelings toward the regular army were rather of distrust and dislike than of comradeship. Their arms, equipment, discipline, organization, and methods of obtaining and accounting for supplies were varied and inconsistent. They were unsuited to become a part of any homogeneous force, and their relations to the army of the United States were undefined and conjectural. By the militia act of January 20, 1903, Congress performed its duty under the constitution.

CITIZENS TRAINED FOR WAR

Leaving these bodies still to perform their duties to the States, it made them the organized militia of the United States. It provided for their conformity in armament, organization, and discipline to the army of the United States; it provided the ways in which, either strictly as militia or as volunteers, they should become an active part of the army when called upon; it provided for their training, instruction, and exercise conjointly with the regular army; it imposed upon the regular army the duty of promoting their efficiency in many ways.

In recognition of the service to the nation which these citizen soldiers would be competent to render, the nation assumed its share of the burden of their armament, their supply, and their training. The workings of this system have already demonstrated, not only that we can have citizens outside of the regular army trained for duty in war, but that we can have a body of volunteer officers ready for service, between whom and the officers of the regular army have been created by intimate association and mutual helpfulness those relations of confidence and esteem without which no army can be effective.

CHALLENGE JUDGMENT ON THE RECORD

The first administration of McKinley fought and won the war with Spain, put down the insurrection in the Philippines, annexed Hawaii, rescued the legations in Pekin, brought Porto Rico into our commercial system, enacted a protective tariff, and established our national currency on the firm foundations of the gold standard by the financial legislation of the Fifty-sixth Congress.

The present administration has reduced taxation, reduced the public debt, reduced the annual interest charge, made effective progress in the regulation of trusts, fostered business, promoted agriculture, built up the navy, reorganized the army, resurrected the militia system, inaugurated a new policy for the preservation and reclamation of public lands, given civil government to the Philippines, established the republic of Cuba, bound it to us by ties of gratitude, of commercial interest, and of common defense; swung open the closed gateway of the isthmus, strengthened the Monroe Doctrine, ended the Alaskan boundary dispute, protected the integrity of China, opened wider its doors of trade, advanced the principle of arbitration, and promoted peace among the nations.

We challenge judgment upon this record of effective performance in legislation, in execution, and in administration.

MORE WORK STILL TO DO

The work is not fully done; policies are not completely wrought out; domestic questions still press continually for solution; other trusts must be regulated; the tariff may presently receive revision, and if so should receive it at the hands of the friends and not the enemies of the protective system; the new Philippine government has only begun to develop its plans for the benefit of that long neglected country; our flag floats on the isthmus, but the canal is yet to be built; peace does not yet reign on earth, and considerate firmness, backed by strength, is still needful in diplomacy.

The American people have now to say whether policies shall be reversed, or committed to unfriendly guardians; whether performance, which now proves itself for the benefit and honor of our country, shall be transferred to unknown and perchance to feeble hands.

EULOGIZES MURDERED PRESIDENT

No dividing line can be drawn athwart the course of this successful administration. The fatal 14th of September, 1901, marked no change of policy, no lower level of achievement. The bullet of the assassin robbed us of the friend we loved; it took away from the people the president of their choice; it deprived civilization of a potent force making always for righteousness and for humanity. But the fabric of

free institutions remained unshaken. The government of the people went on. The great party that William McKinley led wrought still in the spirit of his example. His true and loyal successor has been equal to the burden cast upon him. Widely different in temperament and methods, he has proved himself of the same elemental virtues—the same fundamental beliefs. With faithful and revering memory he has executed the purposes and continued unbroken the policy of President McKinley for the peace, prosperity, and honor of our beloved country. And he has met all new occasions with strength, and resolution, and far-sighted wisdom.

As we gather in this convention our hearts go back to the friend—the never-to-be-forgotten friend—whom when last we met we acclaimed with one accord as our universal choice to bear a second time the highest honor in the nation's gift; and back still memory goes through many a year of leadership and loyalty.

How wise and how skillful he was! How modest and self-effacing! How deep his insight into the human heart! How swift the intuitions of his sympathy! How compelling the charm of his gracious presence! He was so unselfish, so thoughtful of the happiness of others, so genuine a lover of his country and his kind. And he was the kindest and tenderest friend who ever grasped another's hand. Alas, that his virtues did plead in vain against cruel fate!

Yet we may rejoice that while he lived he was crowned with honor, that the rancor of party strife had ceased; that success in his great tasks, the restoration of peace, the approval of his countrymen, the affection of his friends, gave the last quiet months in his home at Canton repose and contentment.

HONORS MEMORY OF HANNA

And with McKinley we remember Hanna with affection and sorrow—his great lieutenant. They are together again.

But we turn, as they would have us turn, to the duties of the hour, the hopes of the future; we turn, as they would have us turn, to prepare ourselves for struggle under the same standard borne in other hands by right of true inheritance. Honor, truth, courage, purity of life, domestic virtue, love of country, loyalty to high ideals—all these, combined with active intelligence, with learning, with experience in affairs, with the conclusive proof of competency afforded by wise and conservative administration, by great things already done and great results already achieved—all these we bring to the people with another candidate. Shall not these have honor in our land? Truth, sincerity, courage! these underlie the fabric of our institutions. Upon hypocrisy and sham, upon cunning and false pretense, upon weakness and cowardice, upon arts of the demagogue and the devices of the mere politician, no government can stand. No system of popular government can endure in which the people do not believe and trust.

PEOPLE IN THE PRESIDENT'S CONFIDENCE

Our President has taken the whole people into his confidence. Incapable of deception, he has put aside concealment. Frankly and without reserve he has told them what their government was doing, and the reasons. It is no campaign of appearances upon which we enter, for the people know the good and the bad, the success and failure, to be credited and charged to our account. It is no campaign of sounding words and specious pretenses, for our President has told the people with frankness what he believed and what he intended. He has meant every word he said, and the people have believed every word he said, and with him this convention agrees because every word has been sound Republican doctrine.

No people can maintain free government who do not in their hearts value the qualities which have made the present President of the United States conspicuous among the men of his time as a type of noble manhood. Come what may here—come what may in November—God grant that those qualities of brave, true manhood shall have honor throughout America, shall be held for an example in every home and that the youth of generations to come may grow up to feel that it is better than wealth, or office, or power to have the honesty, the purity, and the courage of Theodore Roosevelt.

At the conclusion of his speech Mr. Root was greeted with prolonged applause, the delegates standing and waving flags.

CHICAGO GAVEL IS PRESENTED

Graeme Stewart of Chicago then advanced to the center of the platform, gavel in hand, and, addressing Temporary Chairman Root, said:

"Mr. Chairman, at the request of the local committee it is my pleasure to present to you, on behalf of the city of Chicago, this symbol of authority, to be used during the sessions of this convention."

Mr. Root received the gavel without response.

TEMPORARY OFFICERS ARE ANNOUNCED

The clerk then read a list of temporary officers proposed by the committee as follows:

General secretary—Charles W. Johnson, Minnesota.

Assistant secretaries—John R. Malloy, Ohio; James G.

Cannon, New York; Thomas F. Clifford, New Hampshire; Lucian Grey, Illinois; Willett M. Spooner, Wisconsin; T. Larry Eyre, Pennsylvania; J. T. Wilson, Kentucky; Rome C. Stephenson, Indiana; John H. King, South Dakota; Walter S. Melick, California; T. St. John Gaffney, Missouri; Edgar O. Silver, Vermont; Frank D. Waterman, New York; George W. Armstrong, Minnesota; Franklin Murphy, Jr., New Jersey; Edwin C. Simms, Illinois; James Paddock, Illinois.

Reading clerks—W. D. Harrison, Nebraska; Dennis Alward, Michigan; E. L. Lampson, Ohio; T. W. B. Duckwall, West Virginia.

Clerk at president's table—Asher C. Hinds, Maine.

Sergeant at arms—William F. Stone, Maryland.

First assistant sergeant at arms—David C. Owen, Wisconsin.

Chaplains—First day, the Rev. Timothy P. Frost; second day, the Rev. Thomas E. Cox; third day, the Rev. Thaddeus A. Snively, all of Illinois.

TWO RESOLUTIONS ARE OFFERED

"In the interest of economy of time in the performance of our business," said Thomas H. Carter of Montana, "I present the following resolution:

"Resolved, That until a permanent organization is effected this convention be governed by the rules of the last national Republican convention."

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

Senator McComas of Maryland offered the following resolution, which was read by the secretary:

Resolved, That the roll of States and Territories be now called, and that the chairman of each delegation announce the names of the persons selected to serve on the several committees, as follows: Permanent organization, rules and order of business, credentials and resolutions; and, further, that the chairman of each dele-

gation send to the secretary's desk, in writing, the names of the persons selected from his delegation to serve on the aforesaid committees.

ISLAND DELEGATES ARE SEATED

After the adoption of the resolution, Mr. Root said:

Gentlemen of the Convention: Before directing the call of the roll the chair wishes the instructions of the convention upon the question which he will now state. The national committee has placed upon the temporary roll the names of delegates from Porto Rico and the Philippines. The chair does not feel authorized to direct the calling of those names upon the roll without the instruction of the convention. Will the convention take action upon the question?

The action was taken on motion of Senator Foraker of Ohio.

Mr. Root explained that the decision meant that two delegates from Porto Rico and six delegates from the Philippines would have seats in the convention with the power of voting, the latter delegation having two votes.

INVITATION TO WORLD'S FAIR IS READ

Senator Depew was recognized by the chair and addressed the convention regarding the invitation which he had received for the delegates and representatives of the press to attend the World's Fair at St. Louis.

On motion of Mr. Ernst of Kentucky the convention adjourned until the following noon.

CHAPTER XVII

THE SECOND DAY

Chairman Joseph G. Cannon Addresses the Convention—The Party's History—American Labor Fostered—The Country's Policy Outlined—Contrast in Administration—The Philippine Islands—The Enemy of Trusts—The Strike Question—Great Things to be Done—The Platform Read and Adopted.

The second session of the Republican National Convention was called to order by Temporary Chairman Root at 12.20 o'clock, Wednesday. The proceedings opened with prayer, after which the report of the credentials committee was submitted by Senator McComas of Maryland, which recommended, among other things, that the sitting delegates from Wisconsin, John C. Spooner, Joseph V. Quarles, Joseph W. Babcock and Emil Baensch with their alternates, be placed upon the permanent roll of the convention. After the report had been adopted, Senator Depew of New York, on behalf of the committee appointed with reference to the invitation of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, sent its report to the desk. At this point Major General Peter J. Osterhaus was introduced by Chairman Root as the corps commander under Sherman. He spoke briefly.

THE PERMANENT ORGANIZATION EFFECTED

The chair then announced that the report of the committee on permanent organization was in order, and it was read by Franklin Murphy of New Jersey.

Joseph G. Cannon of Illinois was recommended by the

committee as permanent chairman, and the remaining officers were those holding their positions under the temporary organization. The committee recommended for vice-presidents from each State the men elected by the delegations.

The report was approved, and Temporary Chairman Root appointed John D. Long of Massachusetts, Senator Cullom of Illinois, and Congressman Burton of Ohio to escort the permanent chairman to his place at the desk.

LOUD CHEERING FOR CANNON

As the committee was escorting Speaker Cannon to the platform the band started to play "Columbia, the Gem of the Ocean," and his appearance was the signal for prolonged applause. As the speaker advanced to the front of the stage the delegates rose and cheered wildly, and flags were waved. When quiet was restored Mr. Root said:

Gentlemen of the Convention: I present to you as your permanent chairman the man who holds the gavel of the great popular legislative body of America with a grip so firm, directs it with a brain so clear and a heart so sound and fair, that he will wield it for many and many a year to come.

This introduction was followed by another outburst of applause, in the midst of which some one handed Speaker Cannon a gavel.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN'S ADDRESS

After ten minutes of continual cheering, and when the convention finally came to order, Speaker Cannon said:

Gentlemen of the Convention: For the first time in my life I put in black and white enough sentences to contain twenty-five hundred words to say to you. I have tried to memorize it, but I cannot. I have given it out through the usual channels to the great audience, and now I must either beg to be excused entirely, or I must do like we do down in the house of representatives under the five-minute rule and make a few feeble remarks. But that no man shall say that I have not made a great speech I will set that matter at rest by saying that from beginning to end I

heartily indorse every statement of fact and every sentiment given you yesterday from the temporary presiding officer in the greatest speech ever delivered at a convention.

SPEAKS OF ENTHUSIASM

Now let me go on and ramble. And first they say that there is no enthusiasm in this convention. Gentlemen, the great river that has its thirty feet of water, rising in the mountains and growing in depth and breadth down to the ocean, bears upon its bosom the commerce of that section of land that it drains and bears it out to the world. It is a silent river, and yet the brawling stream that is like to the Platte out in Nebraska, which is fourteen miles wide and four inches deep, makes more noise than the bigger river.

When we were young folks twenty years ago we went to see our best girls. We were awfully enthusiastic if she would give us a nod of the head, or the trip-away catch-me-if-you-can, to enter upon the chase. That was awfully strenuous and awfully enthusiastic. But, when she said "Yes," then good relations were established, and we went on evenly throughout the remainder of our lives.

HERE ONLY FOR BUSINESS

It is a contest that makes enthusiasm. In 1904, as in 1900, everybody has known for twelve months past who is to be our standard bearer in this campaign. We are here for business. I wonder if our friends, the enemy, would not be glad of a little of our kind of enthusiasm.

I might illustrate further. I don't know that it is necessary. I see some of my former friends before me; my colleague, Colonel Lowden, and others.

Now, there is not one of you that raises chickens, as I do, but understands that when the hen comes off the nest with one chicken she does more scratching and makes more noise than the motherly hen that is fortunate with twenty-three. Our friends, the enemy, will have the enthusiasm; we will take the votes in November.

POINTS TO PARTY'S HISTORY

To be serious for a moment. As long as you have eighty millions of people competent for self-government they will organize and will call the organization a party. The Republican party, born of the declaration that slavery is sectional and freedom national, achieved its first success in 1860 with Abraham Lincoln. Secession; the war of the Union; you older men recollect it well. We have one of the survivors here. I was glad to see him given the courtesies of the convention. He helped to make it possible that we could have this convention.

Forty-four years ago, just about this time in the year—1904—what a contrast! A divided country, bankrupt treasury, no credit. The Republican party had power,

and under its great leadership wrote revenue legislation upon the statute books and went back to the principles of Washington and Hamilton, and legislation that would produce revenue while fixing duties upon imports was so adjusted as to encourage every American citizen to take part in the diversified industries and resources of the country.

PROGRESS MADE SINCE 1860

Will you bear with me for five minutes while I speak of the comparison as it was then upon the one hand of facts and with the condition to-day? In 1860 we had been substantially dominated for many years by the free trade party, insignificant in manufactures, great in agriculture. Under our policy, which has been followed, with the exception of eight years, from that time to this, the United States remains first in agriculture, but by leaps and bounds has diversified her industries, until to-day we are the greatest manufacturing country on God's footstool. One-third of all the world's products that come from the factory are made in the United States by the operation and coöperation of American capital and American labor and skill.

Let me make one other statement. Our product every year is greater than the entire combined manufactured product of Great Britain, of Germany, and of France. Where do we get the market for it? Ninety-seven per cent of this great product—one-third the world's product—finds a market amongst ourselves in the United States. And yet, of this product last year we sold to foreign countries—I am speaking now of the manufactured product—more than $400,000,000 in goods—29 per cent of our total exports—and our total exports made and make us the greatest exporting nation on earth.

AMERICAN LABOR IS FOSTERED

Made by labor? Yes. Made by labor that works less hours than any labor on earth. Made by labor that, conservatively stated, receives $1.75 as against the average of the competitive labor in the world of $1. Oh, gentlemen, it is not a few rich men that make markets. Nay, nay. It is the multiplied millions on farms, in mine, and in factory, that work to-day and consume to-morrow, and, with steady employment and good wage, give us, with 80,000,000 of people, a market equal to 200,000,000 of consuming people anywhere else on earth.

The farmer buys the artisan's product. The artisan, bing employed, buys the farmer's product. The wheels go round You cannot strike one branch of labor in the republic without the blow reacting on all producers. Well, are you satisfied with the comparison from the manufacturing standpoint? If not, let me give you another illustration that will, perhaps, go home to the minds of men more quickly than the illustration I have given.

GROWTH OF THE POSTAL FACILITIES

Take the postoffice department that reaches all of the people, and no man is compelled to pay one penny. It is voluntary taxation. For the year ending in March, 1861, the total revenue of the postoffice department in all the United States was $8,500,000. Keep that in our minds; $8,500,000. How much do you suppose it cost to run it? Nineteen million. Took all the revenue and as much more, and one quarter as much more from the treasury to pay for that postal service. Why, gentlemen, the city postoffice of Chicago last year collected more revenue by almost $1,000,000 than was collected by the whole department in the United States in 1860.

How is it now? We have reduced postage more than one-half since 1860 on the average. Last year the postal revenues were $134,000,000, as against $8,000,000 in 1860. Keep that in your mind—$134,000,000. And the whole service only cost $138,000,000. We had a deficit of $4,000,000—3 per cent—and we would not have had that deficit had it not been that under the lead of the Republican party—looking out for the welfare of all the people and conducting the government from a business standpoint—under the lead of McKinley, followed by Roosevelt, rural free delivery was established that cost $10,000,000. Great heavens! The Republican party from 1860 until this moment moves out, does what good common sense dictates, and the country grows to it. Well, now, I will drop that department.

IS THE PARTY OF PROTECTION

The Republican party is a national party and believes in diversification of our industries and the protection of American capital and American labor as against the cheaper labor elsewhere on earth.

What do the other people believe in? For sixty years went out the cry of free trade throughout the world—free ships upon the sea. Then a tariff was demanded for revenue only. The opposition always has denounced the Republican policy of protection as robbery, and, whenever clothed with power, whatever its pretenses, it has thrust a dagger into the very heart of protection.

Oh, well, aren't they going to change? Let us see. Just before the close of the last Congress New York's eloquent son, Bourke Cockran, a member of the house of representatives, got the floor, and he preached an old-fashioned Democratic sermon—free trade and all that kind of thing—and he did it well, and there came from the minority side of that house, without exceptions, such cheering and crying and hurrahing and applauding as I never witnessed before in that house of representatives, because at last they had the pure Democratic faith delivered to them.

OPPOSITION LACKS DEFINITENESS

They are trying to draw sets together from Nebraska and throughout the country, New England, New York, and the South; trying to satisfy people that they

ought to come into power under the lead of Gorman of the Senate and Williams of the house. They have been trying to give the country Dover's powders.

"Oh," said my distinguished colleague, following the astute Senator Gorman, "if we come into power, while protection is robbery, yet we will say to you that we will journey in the direction of free trade when you clothe us with power, but we will not destroy your industries overnight." Great God! Think of it! They won't kill you outright, but they will starve you to death day by day. They want to be put on guard to protect the people who are dwelling in peace and prosperity under a Republican policy.

It reminds me of the fable of Æsop. You know he records that the wolves said to the sheep, "Discharge the dogs," who were their natural protectors, "and employ us, and we will take care of you." Do the capital of this country and the labor of this country want to go under the care of "Wolf" Gorman and Williams and their fellows? I think not.

MUST OUTLINE COUNTRY'S POLICY

What a country it is! Republicans, we have to outline the policy and lead the people in caring for it. Why, we are like the women, we not only have to take care of ourselves but more, as one of our women said. They have to take care of the men. The Republican party not only has to care for itself, but has to care for the minority by a wise policy. How it has been doing it! We preserve the Union under the policy and leadership of this party. Do you recollect that the opposition party on a demand for an armistice and negotiation and compromise nominated McClellan in 1864?

Do you recollect when the amendments were adopted they said "Nay, nay," and then, after they were adopted, they came into power temporarily in Indiana and Ohio, and passed acts taking back the assent of the States? When the first battle was fought against greenback on fiat money back in the '70's, out in the Middle West, whatever they were on the Atlantic coast, they were fiatists East. From step to step through all these forty-four years where, if you measure time by advance, we have lived two centuries as compared with any other period of the world's history, they have pulled back, pulled back. When we accomplish and it becomes necessary to march forward and try to accomplish again, they move into our old quarters and squat down there and make faces and say, "You are going to send the country to hell."

CONTRAST IN ADMINISTRATIONS

We do not mind it. We move on. Why multiply words about ancient or recent conditions? Take the country under the administration of Grover Cleveland and compare it to the country under the administration of William McKinley and under

Theodore Roosevelt. If a man will dwell on comparison for a moment, and make a fair comparison, if he would not indorse the policies of the Republican party, he would not believe although he were raised from the dead. McKinley. Roosevelt. The passage of the Dingley act that restored us economic prosperity. The gold standard act that settled for all time the matter of sound currency. The short, triumphant war with Spain. The Philippines and Porto Rico coming under our flag, and freedom to Cuba. This is a record that will stand in the future second only to the records made by George Washington and Abraham Lincoln.

Then imported anarchy struck down our great president, when partisan strife had almost ceased, and the world paused in wonder and indignation—not in fear, because, as life went from our great leader and our great president, there was a young, active, honest, courageous man standing by the bedside, who under the constitution was his successor, and he there said: "I am to be president to carry out the policies of the Republican party and I will journey in the footsteps of William McKinley and of Abraham Lincoln."

TELLS OF WORK ACCOMPLISHED

To your coming president great things have happened in the last three years. In the old world a single great policy in the generation is the exception. We have more than that in our progressive country. I have given you the great achievements under McKinley. Under his worthy, great successor we had the consummation of freedom to Cuba wrought out by superior statesmanship.

Imperialism, that was talked about under McKinley, has disappeared with growing civil government and peace in the Philippines. Aye, it has disappeared from the face of the earth. Did I say from the face of the earth? I will stick to it, because the doctrinaire here and the doctrinaire there, whether it be in New York or in Boston, draws his toga about him, saying, "I am wiser than thou," and still, after this great question is settled by the conscience and the intelligence of all the people, he still cries "Wolf, wolf!" Well, under the constitution of the United States, he has a right to.

PHILIPPINES PROMISE USEFULNESS

Let them ask, What is going to become of the Philippines? At last we have peace. At last we have growing civil government, and as our 80,000,000 in this twentieth century shall increase from 80,000,000 to 250,000,000, as we shall go out with production and commerce, in the fullness of time that territory will be useful to the United States, whereas in the meantime we will be like a benediction to them.

The United States, great in production and wealth. In 1850, $300, in round numbers, was the per capita wealth. In 1900, $1,235 was the per capita wealth. In 1860 the wealth was measured by sixteen billions of dollars; in 1900, ninety-four bil-

lions; now, one hundred billions. Great Britain has only an aggregate of wealth of sixty billions, and she has been living and gathering it for the last five hundred years. In a generation we spring from sixteen to one hundred billions. The world's wealth is four hundred billions of dollars. The United States has one-fourth of it.

THE ENEMY OF THE TRUSTS

Our friends, the enemy—some of them little politicians—vex the air crying, "The trust, trusts, trusts." Oh, they come out strong with good lungs as trust busters. Ever since 1890 did they ever do any busting? Oh, no. There is no Jericho now, and if there was it would never happen again that persons would march around the walls of Jericho blowing rams' horns seven times until the walls fell down. That is what they are trying to do.

Trusts? Yes. Great combinations of capital against public policy? Yes. But the Republican party, always true to the people and its traditions, made haste to provide under the constitution legislation that would prohibit these combinations.

TELLS OF COUNTRY'S WEALTH

There is no country on earth that has so much wealth as ours. Why, interest rates are cheapening and cheapening, until to-day the credit of the United States commands money at a premium at 2 per cent, which is 1 per cent lower than any nation on earth can command it.

Foreign combinations? Yes. But all the while these great wealth seeking individuals desiring favorable investments month by month and year by year, enterprising citizens desiring gain, found additional industries. Why, take the census of 1900. They have the figures correctly tabulated and made according to the facts. The census of 1900 shows that only 14 per cent of the factory product came from the establishments of the so-called trusts in the United States, whereas 86 per cent of the factory product came from their competitors in individual and small ownerships.

PROSPERITY IS NOT MENACED

It is bound to be that way, if you will stop and think. There are eighty millions of our people. If some man conceives the idea that when he dies wisdom will have departed, and that he can corner the air, and the water, and the sunlight, he will find eighty millions of people who make our civilization that will make a law that can be enforced. Can you prove it? Yes. Just a minute. In the last two years the wind and the water that came from over-capitalization in forming the so-called trusts have been squeezed out. There are persons who make "mouth bets" about the price of watered companies and companies that have gas on top of the water, made by the printing press with the certificates. Oh, they stand around and they say, "Why, there is the most extraordinary shrinkage in values that was ever known.

How much? Oh, a good many hundreds of millions; the Wall Street Journal says over a billion, six hundred million."

Still, every dollar of property, every particle of property that was represented by this over-capitalization two years ago is yet with us. Now, all the fools that bet on it to go down and the fools that bet on it to go up can fight it out. It don't make one particle of difference to the eighty millions of people who live by toil and do a legitimate business.

DEALS WITH THE STRIKE QUESTION

The law, public opinion, public sentiment, the desire for good investments, dollar for dollar, in the factory, where a dollar costs one hundred cents, goes into competition against the factory that cost one hundred cents and is burdened with another one hundred cents common, and another one hundred cents gas, and another one hundred cents moonshine. Work it out It is all right. "Oh, but," says our enemy, "my God, look at the strikes you are having in this country." That is their strong suit—strikes, strikes.

Now, what is a strike? It is an effort by the employer and the employee to agree how the profit should be divided. If the employee doesn't get as much as he thinks he ought to get, after arbitration has been tried, he strikes. A quarrel about something. The division of something. Well, then, it is absolutely necessary to have a strike that there should be a profit. Great God! How many strikes were there under Cleveland when the Democrats had the running of things? When money becomes scarce the profits are scarce. There is the whole story.

INJUSTICE ON BOTH SIDES

Oh, but outrageous things are done by the employer when he oppresses the laborer, and outrageous things are done by some laborers when they go on a strike. Yes, outrageous things are done in some of our best governed churches, and amongst those who do not belong to any church. Once in a while a citizen commits larceny. Once in a while a man commits arson. Once in a while a man is guilty of homicide. Why, the law is made to protect society against the man who will not obey the law and who makes war on his neighbors. Yes, there is law breaking and disorder; law breaking in the formation of trusts; law breaking, at times, in the organization of labor when it goes on strike. But the great body of the American people owning the wealth are not for the trusts, and the great body of labor, honest men who live by toil, are not for law breaking in the strikes.

The law is the sheet anchor of civilization; strong enough to pull down the strongest; strong enough to curb the weaker and the vicious. It is strong enough, like the grace of God, to throw its arms about the weakest and the poorest and bring him under its protection. All must obey under Theodore Roosevelt as the national

representative of the law. He is, and will continue to be, without favor or affection, the representative of law supreme and universal in our borders.

PRAISES SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT

A few words more and I will conclude. Our government is of the people. It is divided into coördinate branches. The judges of the United States courts, who hold office for life, or during good behavior; the executive; the congress, which consists of two coördinate branches—the house and the senate—great legislative bodies; they could not be otherwise, born as they are of eighty millions of people, who are competent for self-government. In the senate the tenure is for six years. The great popular body, near to the people, that reflects the sentiment of the people, is chosen every two years. Now, then, you know under our form of government the party in power is held responsible. The function of the minority is to put it on good behavior by being ever ready to appeal to the people.

Let me tell you something. If our government has a fault it is that after an election one party is placed in power with only one leg. It may have the senate. It may have the presidency. It may have the house. It goes along on crutches. Yet you want to hold it responsible for public sentiment. If I had the power I would so change our constitution that, at every quadrennial election, the party that received the popular approval should go fully into power and let the public have a government according to the sentiment expressed at the ballot box. But we have not got it arranged quite that way. What is the next best thing? You like Theodore Roosevelt? Yes. Stronger than his party; he will be triumphantly elected.

ADVOCATES CHANGE IN SENATE

Do you like the senate of the United States? Yes. Its condition cannot be changed in November. It could be changed at the end of four years, electing a third every two years. You like the electoral colleges of the great popular party, 386 strong, coming with the warrants of attorney from the people to cast their votes for your candidates. If you approve of them, if you approve of the Republican policies, you are short-sighted if you refuse a working majority in the house of representatives, because you cannot keep a Republican house without it.

I am done. I have already detained you longer than I expected. In conclusion, let me again say that we are proud of the President; we are proud of the future. The twentieth century is to bring more of good or evil to the human race than the nineteenth century brought. Under what party banner will you enlist? Under that of the reactionist? Under that of the people who sit still or tear down? Or, will you take service with the party of Lincoln and Grant and Garfield and Harrison and McKinley and Roosevelt, and help us march on to victory?

GREAT THINGS REMAIN TO BE DONE

Speaking of the living in the presence of the dead, we have tears for them and admiration for the great things that they accomplish; but the glory of our race, of our civilization, is that each generation works out its own salvation and marches forward to success and the betterment of the condition of mankind, and, as they drop into the grave, their successors move on to the stage of action, holding fast all that the past has given us, and going in turn a generation's march further on for the benefit of the race and of civilization.

After the applause had subsided the band played "America." The delegates and the audience listened standing.

COMMITTEE ON RULES REPORTS

Chairman Cannon called for the report of the committee on rules. It was submitted by Representative Bingham of Pennsylvania, who said:

I am directed by your committee on rules and order of procedure to submit their unanimous report for the approval of the convention. In 1888 the rules we had governing the preceding conventions of the party were gone over with great care and authority. That convention adopted a rule, and from that day to this the guide of the order of procedure has been changed only in a limited number of its rules or provisions. Your committee has followed the action of a like committee in preceding conventions, but several changes are enacted in these rules because of the inclusion of the Philippine Islands and Porto Rico, together with the inclusion of a rule recommended by the secretary of the national committee, in order that in making up the roll of delegates and alternates and contested seats a better submission could be made than has heretofore been made under no rule.

In full recognition of the fairness and familiarity of your presiding officer to-day, in order that he may feel perfectly at home in this convention, as he always does in the speaker's chair in the house, we have adopted the rules of the Fifty-Eighth Congress when not inconsistent with the rules submitted for this convention.

The reading of the report was dispensed with and Mr. Bingham moved its adoption.

FORAKER OFFERS AN AMENDMENT

Senator Foraker offered as an amendment:

Resolved, That the report of the committee on rules be amended so as to allow the six delegates from Hawaii six votes in conformity with her sister territories of Arizona, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Indian Territory, and Alaska.

"In support of that amendment I call attention to the fact that Hawaii is a Territory, made so by legislative enactment, and entitled to the same treatment as every other Territory," said Senator Foraker. "All the other Territories are given six delegates. In the call of the national committee Hawaii, as a Territory, was asked to send six delegates, and Alaska, which is not a Territory but only a district, was asked to send four delegates."

CARTER APPEALS FOR HAWAII

Governor Carter then addressed the convention. He said:

There seems to be an impression in some quarters that Hawaii is a Territory. I rise to assure you that Hawaii is on the map of the United States and Territories of America and not in the list of its possessions. We, gentlemen, twelve good, stalwart Republicans, have traveled five thousand miles to show our allegiance to this party. We are too good American citizens to sit still in the face of discrimination, and too loyal Republicans to see this convention take an action which will injure it even in the isles beyond the sea, those emerald isles, the paradise of the Pacific. God grant that it may not occur, but in the struggle of the future if there should arise a contest on the Pacific Ocean, Hawaii will be necessary to America and the people of Hawaii will not be found wanting.

Governor Carter was greeted with prolonged cheering and applause. Senator Hopkins then said:

HOPKINS OPPOSES AMENDMENTS

Mr. Chairman: I trust that the amendment offered by the senator from Ohio will not be adopted by this convention, and I trust that the enthusiasm expressed by the delegate from the Hawaiian Islands will not carry the members of this convention away from what is just and proper in determining the personnel of a great national convention. I do not yield even to the delegate from Hawaii in my admiration for that island, and in my zeal to support any administration that benefits the people of the island.

It was my province and my pleasure by my vote to assist in making the Hawaiian Islands a part of the United States, and ever since that time I have voted always for legislation that would benefit the people; but when we come to a great national convention we should not treat the people of the islands there any better

than we treat the people in a congressional district in the State of Illinois or in the Empire State of New York.

FORAKER GETS THE FLOOR AGAIN

On Senator Hopkins' motion Senator Foraker again was given the floor. He spoke from the platform in response to calls from the delegates.

There was much in what was said by the distinguished senator from Illinois, with which we all sympathize, and when the proper time comes for making another precedent we will then all listen to his reasoning. I submit that it is too late to make the provision to which objection has in this case been made. I call attention again to the fact that Hawaii is a Territory of the United States. It has been given a territorial government, and that action of the congress of the United States was in accordance with the provisions of the law annexing Hawaii. Hawaii, therefore, stands before us when it comes to the matter of representation in precisely the same light that every other Territory stands before us.

BABCOCK SPEAKS FOR THE COMMITTEE

Congressman Babcock of Wisconsin then addressed the convention.

Mr. Chairman: As a member of the committee on rules I wish to say that the delegates from Hawaii have already been seated in this convention and occupy seats on this floor at this time. The national committee and the committee on rules report identically the same, that the six delegates should cast two votes.

Mr. Chairman, if the convention proposes seriously to consider this amendment I want to add another: I want the District of Columbia to have six representatives; I want the State of Wisconsin, in which I reside, to have seventy-eight.

Delegate McKinley of California spoke in favor of the resolution.

BINGHAM OFFERS A SUBSTITUTE

Congressman Bingham of Pennsylvania was then recognized by the chair. He said:

Alaska has poured into the industries and treasury of the country millions of dollars, and in recognition of that industry and tribute to the republic we increased the representation from four to six. Had the Territories in the convention in Cincinnati which nominated President Hayes had the representation they have in this con-

vention they would have changed and could have changed the determination of that convention.

Mr. Bingham offered the following substitute:

That the representation of Hawaii shall be two delegates, provided that they shall not impair the rights and privileges of the six delegates already seated in this convention.

Senator Foraker then said: "I do not see why, if this is to be now adopted, it should not be made to apply to Alaska, Arizona, and New Mexico as well, because they have no greater population, and neither New Mexico nor Arizona has any advantage over Hawaii, all being Territories alike."

ROLL CALL IS DEMANDED

To which Chairman Cannon replied: "The question is on the substitute offered by the gentleman from Pennsylvania. As many as are in favor will say Yes. Those opposed will say No. The yeas seem to have it."

A roll call was demanded by delegates from California, Colorado, Ohio, and Pennsylvania and resulted as follows: Yeas, 497; nays, 490.

The chairman then declared the substitute carried. General Bingham moved the adoption of the report as amended, and it was carried.

THE PLATFORM ADOPTED

Senator Lodge of Massachusetts reported for the committee on resolutions, and the platform was read. It will be found in another chapter.

With cheering the platform was adopted on motion of Senator Lodge.

The following dispatch from Washington was then read to the convention:

Secretary of State Hay has sent instructions to Consul-General Gummare as follows: "We want either Perdicaris alive or Raisuli dead."

Prolonged cheering followed the reading of the bulletin.

COMMITTEE TO FILL VACANCIES

Reading Clerk Molloy read the names of the members selected by the delegations as members of the national Republican committee and honorary vice-presidents. Senator Gallinger of New Hampshire offered the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That the national Republican committee be and it is hereby empowered to fill all vacancies in its membership.

On motion of Senator Kean of New Jersey the convention adjourned until 10 a. m., Thursday.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE REPUBLICAN PLATFORM

The Party's Record—Unhappy Conditions Met—The Gold Standard—Free Cuba—The Panama Canal—The Trusts Curbed—Tariff Plank—Foreign Markets—The Merchant Marine—To Maintain the Navy—The Foreign Policy—Confidence in Roosevelt.

The following is the full text of the Republican platform as adopted by the convention:

Fifty years ago the Republican party came into existence dedicated, among other purposes, to the great task of arresting the extension of human slavery. In 1860 it elected its first president. During twenty-four of the forty-four years which have elapsed since the election of Lincoln, the Republican party has held complete control of the government. For eighteen more of the forty-four years it has held partial control through the possession of one or two branches of the government, while the Democratic party, during the same period, has had complete control for only two years.

ADDS LUSTER TO RECORD

This long tenure of power by the Republican party is not due to chance. It is a demonstration that the Republican party has commanded the confidence of the American people for nearly two generations to a degree never equaled in our history, and has displayed a high capacity for rule and government which has been made even more conspicuous by the incapacity and infirmity of purpose shown by its opponents.

The Republican party entered upon its present period of complete supremacy in 1897. We have every right to congratulate ourselves upon the work since then accomplished; for it has added luster even to the traditions of the party which carried the government through the storms of civil war.

We then found the country, after four years of Democratic rule, in evil plight, oppressed with misfortune, and doubtful of the future. Public credit had been lowered, the revenues were declining, the debt was growing, the administration's attitude toward Spain was feeble and mortifying, the standard of values

was threatened and uncertain, labor was unemployed, business was sunk in the depression which had succeeded the panic of 1893, hope was faint, and confidence was gone.

BAD SITUATION REMEDIED

We met these unhappy conditions vigorously, effectively and at once.

We replaced a Democratic tariff law based on free trade principles and garnished with sectional protection by a consistent protective tariff, and industry freed from opposition and stimulated by the encouragement of wise laws has expanded to a degree never before known, has conquered new markets and has created a volume of exports which has surpassed imagination. Under the Dingley tariff labor has been fully employed.

Wages have risen and all industries have revived and prospered.

GOLD STANDARD

We firmly established the gold standard, which was then menaced with destruction. Confidence returned to business, and with confidence an unexampled prosperity.

For deficient revenues, supplemented by improvident issues of bonds, we gave the country an income which produced a large surplus and which enabled us only four years after the Spanish war had closed to remove over $100,000,000 of annual war taxes, reduce the public debt, and lower the interest charges of the government.

The public credit, which had been so lowered that in time of peace a Democratic administration made large loans at extravagant rates of interest in order to pay current expenditures, rose under Republican administration to its highest point and enabled us to borrow at 2 per cent even in time of war.

CUBA SET FREE

We refused to palter longer with the miseries of Cuba. We fought a quick and victorious war with Spain. We set Cuba free, governed the island for three years, and then gave it to the Cuban people with order restored, with ample revenues, with education and public health established, free from debt, and connected with the United States by wise provisions for our mutual interests.

We have organized the government of Porto Rico, and its people now enjoy peace, freedom, order, and prosperity.

In the Philippines we have suppressed insurrection, established order, and given to life and property a security never known there before. We have organized civil government, made it effective and strong in administration, and have conferred upon the people of those islands the largest civil liberty they have ever enjoyed.

By our possession of the Philippines we were enabled to take prompt and effective action in the relief of the legations at Pekin and a decisive part in preventing the partition aud in preserving the integrity of China.

PANAMA CANAL PROJECT

The possession of a route for an isthmian canal, so long the dream of American statesmanship, is now an accomplished fact. The great work of connecting the Pacific and Atlantic oceans by a canal is at last begun, and it is due to the Republican party.

We have passed laws which will bring the arid lands of the United States within the area of cultivation.

We have reorganized the army, and put it in the highest state of efficiency.

We have passed laws for the improvement and support of the militia.

We have pushed forward the building of the navy, the defense and the protection of our honor and our interests.

Our administration of the great departments of the government has been honest and efficient, and wherever wrongdoing has been discovered the Republican administration has not hesitated to probe the evil and bring offenders to justice without regard to party or political ties.

CURBING THE TRUSTS

Laws enacted by the Republican party which the Democratic party failed to enforce and which were intended for the protection of the public against the unjust discrimination or the encroachment of vast aggregations of capital have been fearlessly enforced by a Republican president, and new laws, insuring reasonable publicity as to the operation of great corporations and providing additional remedies for the prevention of discrimination in freight rates, have been passed by a Republican congress.

In this record of achievement during the last eight years may be read the pledges which the Republican party has fulfilled. We propose to continue these policies and we declare our constant adherence to the following principles:

TARIFF PLANK

Protection which guards and develops our industries is a cardinal policy of the Republican party. The measure of protection should always, at least, equal the difference in the cost of production at home and abroad.

We insist upon the maintenance of the principles of protection, and, therefore, rates of duty should be readjusted only when conditions have so changed that the public interest demands their alteration. But this work cannot safely be committed to any other hands than those of the Republican party. To intrust it to the Demo-

cratic party is to invite disaster. Whether, as in 1892, the Democratic party declared the protective tariff unconstitutional or whether it demands tariff reform or tariff revision, its real object is always the destruction of the protective system.

However specious the name, the purpose is ever the same. A Democratic tariff has always been followed by business adversity, a Republican tariff by business prosperity.

FOREIGN MARKETS

To a Republican congress and a Republican president this great question can be safely intrusted. When the only free trade country among the great nations agitates a return to protection the chief protective country should not falter in maintaining it.

We have extended widely our foreign markets and we believe in the adoption of all practicable methods for their further extension, including commercial reciprocity whenever reciprocal arrangements can be effected consistent with the principles of protection and without injury to American agriculture, American labor, or any American industry.

We believe it to be the duty of the Republican party to uphold the gold standard and the integrity and the value of our national currency. The maintenance of the gold standard, established by the Republican party, cannot safely be committed to the Democratic party, which resisted its adoption and has never given any proof since that time of belief in it or fidelity to it.

NEED MERCHANT MARINE

While every other industry has prospered under the fostering aid of Republican legislation, American shipping, engaged in foreign trade in competition with the low cost of construction, low wages, and heavy subsidies of foreign governments, has not for many years received from the government of the United States adequate encouragement of any kind. We therefore favor legislation which will encourage and build up the American merchant marine, and we cordially approve the legislation of the last congress which created the merchant marine commission to investigate and report upon this subject.

WILL MAINTAIN NAVY

A navy powerful enough to defend the United States against any attack, to uphold the Monroe Doctrine, and watch over our commerce is essential to the safety and the welfare of the American people. To maintain such a navy is the fixed policy of the Republican party.

We cordially approve the attitude of President Roosevelt and congress in regard to the exclusion of Chinese labor and promise a continuance of the Republican policy in that direction.

The civil service law was placed on the statute books by the Republican party,

which has always sustained it, and we renew our former declarations that it shall be thoroughly and honestly enforced.

We are always mindful of the country's debt to the soldiers and sailors of the United States, and we believe in making ample provision for them in the liberal administration of the pension laws.

We favor the peaceful settlement of international difference by arbitration.

FOREIGN POLICY

We commend the vigorous efforts made by the administration to protect American citizens in foreign lands and pledge ourselves to insist upon the just and equal protection of all our citizens abroad. It is the unquestioned duty of the government to procure for all our citizens, without distinction, the rights of travel and sojourn in friendly countries, and we declare ourselves in favor of all proper efforts tending to that end.

Our great interests and our growing commerce in the Orient render the condition of China of high importance to the United States. We cordially commend the policy pursued in that direction by the administrations of President McKinley and President Roosevelt.

DISFRANCHISING VOTERS

We favor such congressional action as shall determine whether by special discriminations the elective franchise in any State has been unconstitutionally limited, and if such is the case we demand that representation in congress and in the electoral colleges shall be proportionately reduced as directed by the constitution of the United States.

Combinations of capital and of labor are the results of the economic movement of the age, but neither must be permitted to infringe upon the rights and interests of the people. Such combinations when lawfully formed for lawful purposes are alike entitled to the protection of the laws, but both are subject to the laws and neither can be permitted to break them.

TRIBUTE TO McKINLEY

The great statesman and patriotic American, William McKinley, who was reëlected by the Republican party to the presidency four years ago, was assassinated just at the threshold of his second term. The entire nation mourned his untimely death and did that justice to his great qualities of mind and character which history will confirm and repeat.

The American people were fortunate in his successor, to whom they turned with a trust and confidence which have been fully justified. President Roosevelt brought to the great responsibilities thus sadly forced upon him a clear head, a brave heart, an earnest patriotism, and high ideals of public duty and public service. True to the principles of the Republican party and to the policies which that party had declared,

he has also shown himself ready for every emergency and has met new and vital questions with ability and with success.

TRUST IN ROOSEVELT

The confidence of the people in his justice inspired by his public career enabled him to render personally an inestimable service to the country by bringing about a settlement of the coal strike which threatened such disastrous results at the opening of the winter in 1902.

Our foreign policy under his administration has not only been able, vigorous, and dignified, but in the highest degree successful. The complicated questions which arose in Venezuela were settled in such a way by President Roosevelt that the Monroe Doctrine was signally vindicated and the cause of peace and arbitration greatly advanced.

His prompt and vigorous action in Panama, which we commend in the highest terms, not only secured to us the canal route but avoided foreign complications which might have been of a serious character.

He has continued the policy of President McKinley in the Orient, and our position in China, sigualized by our recent commercial treaty with that empire, has never been so high. He secured the tribunal by which the vexed and perilous question of the Alaskan boundary was finally settled.

VOICE HEARD ABROAD

Whenever crimes against humanity have been perpetrated which have shocked our people, his protest has been made and our good offices have been tendered, but always with due regard to international obligations.

Under his guidance we find ourselves at peace with all the world, and never were we more respected or our wishes more regarded by foreign nations.

Preëminently successful in regard to our foreign relations, he has been equally fortunate in dealing with domestic questions. The country has known that the public credit and the national currency were absolutely safe in the hands of his administration. In the enforcement of the laws he has shown not only courage but the wisdom which understands that to permit laws to be violated or disregarded opens the door to anarchy, while the just enforcement of the law is the soundest conservatism. He has held firmly to the fundamental American doctrine that all men must obey the law, that there must be no distinction between rich and poor, between strong and weak, but that justice and equal protection under the law must be secured to every citizen without regard to race, creed, or condition.

His administration has been throughout vigorous and honorable, high minded and patriotic. We commend it without reservatiou to the considerate judgment of the American people.

CHAPTER XIX

THE CANDIDATES NOMINATED

Ex-Governor Black Places Theodore Roosevelt in Nomination—Discord in the Democratic Party—Justice, Equality and Progress—The Republican Party Has Never Failed in a Crisis—Roosevelt No Stranger—Events Select the Strongest Man—Enthusiasm Rampant—The Seconding Speech of Senator Beveridge—George A. Knight Arouses the Convention—Harry Stillwell Edwards Speaks for the South—Nomination of Charles W. Fairbanks—The Convention Adjourns.

The third and last session of the Republican National Convention was called to order at 10.30 a. m., Thursday morning. At the conclusion of the opening prayer, Chairman Cannon presented the following announcement to the reading clerk:

"On July 6th, at Jackson, Michigan, there will be celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of the birth of the Republican party, the time when and the place where it received its name. Secretary Hay will deliver the principal address. Senator Fairbanks and others will address the meeting."

Then followed an announcement that the recently elected Republican National Committee would meet in the Coliseum Annex immediately on the adjournment of the convention.

CALLING THE ROLL

Chairman Cannon at once announced that the next order of business would be a rollcall of the States for the nomination of President of the United States. The clerk called "Alabama," and immediately Oscar R. Hundley, of that State,

mounted a chair and announced that Alabama requested the honor and privilege of yielding its place on the roll to the State of New York. Instantly the convention was in an uproar. The New York delegates waved their flags and shouted wildly. Ex-Governor Frank S. Black of New York, who was to deliver the nominating speech in behalf of President Roosevelt, immediately started for the platform amid wild enthusiasm on the part of the delegates. As he reached the desk of Mr. Cannon he was warmly greeted by the chairman and escorted down to the front of the platform. Here Chairman Cannon, standing by the side of Mr. Black, in a few words introduced him to the convention.

EX-GOVERNOR BLACK'S SPEECH

A succession of shouts from the convention, a chorus of shrieks from the New York delegation, a paroxysm of tossing flags, then silence, and Mr. Black began his speech in behalf of President Roosevelt. He said:

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention: We are here to inaugurate a campaign which seems already to be nearly closed. So wisely have the people sowed and watched and tended, there seems little now to do but to measure up the grain. They are ranging themselves not for battle, but for harvest. In one column, reaching from the Maine woods to the Puget Sound, are those people and those States which have stood so long together that when great emergencies arise the nation turns instinctively to them In this column, vast and solid, is a majority so overwhelming that the scattered squads in opposition can hardly raise another army.

THE ENEMY DESTITUTE OF WEAPONS

The enemy have neither guns nor ammunition, and if they had they would use them on each other. Destitute of the weapons of effective warfare, the only evidence of approaching battle is in the tone and number of their bulletins. There is discord among the generals; discord among the soldiers. Each would fight in his own way, but before assaulting his Republican adversaries he would first destroy his own comrades in the adjoining tents. Each believes the weapons chosen by the other are not only wicked, but fatal to the holder. That is true.

THE BOOMERANG SUBSTITUTED FOR THE GUN

This is the only war of modern times where the boomerang has been substituted for the gun. Whatever fatalities may occur, however, among the discordant hosts now moving on St. Louis, no harm will come this fall to the American people. There will be no opposition sufficient to raise a conflict. There will be hardly enough for competition. There are no Democratic plans for the conduct of the fall campaign. Their zeal is chiefly centered in discussion as to what Thomas Jefferson would do if he were living. He is not living, and but few of his descendants are among the Democratic remnants of to-day. Whatever of patriotism or wisdom emanated from that distinguished man is now represented in this convention.

It is a sad day for any party when its only means of solving living issues is by guessing at the possible attitude of a statesman who is dead. This condition leaves that party always a beginner and makes every question new. The Democratic party has seldom tried a problem on its own account, and when it has its blunders have been its only monuments; its courage is remembered only in regret. As long as these things are recalled that party may serve as ballast, but it will never steer the ship.

THE DEMOCRATIC MOTTO, "FORGET"

When all the people have forgotten will dawn a golden era for this new Democracy. But the country is not ready yet to place a party in the lead whose most expressive motto is the cheerless word "forget." That motto may express contrition, but it does not inspire hope. Neither confidence nor enthusiasm will ever be aroused by any party which enters each campaign uttering the language of the mourner.

There is one fundamental plank, however, on which the two great parties are in full agreement. Both believe in the equality of men. The difference is that the Democratic party would make every man as low as the poorest, while the Republican party would make every man as high as the best. But the Democratic course will provoke no outside interference now, for the Republican motto is that of the great commander, "Never interrupt the enemy while he is making a mistake."

AN EXAMPLE OF UNITY

In politics as in other fields, the most impressive arguments spring from contrast. Never has there been a more striking example of unity than is now afforded by this assemblage. You are gathered here not as factions torn by discordant views, but moved by one desire and intent; you have come as the chosen representatives of the most enlightened party in the world. You meet not as strangers, for no men are strangers who hold the same beliefs and espouse the same cause. You may separate two bodies of water for a thousand years, but when once the barrier is

removed they mingle instantly and are one. The same traditions inspire and the same purposes actuate us all. Never in our lives did these purposes stand with deeper root than now. At least two generations have passed away since the origin of that great movement from which sprang the spirit which has been the leading impulse in American politics for half a century. In that movement, which was both a creation and an example, were those great characters which endowed the Republican party at its birth with the attributes of justice, equality and progress, which have held it to this hour in line with the highest sentiments of mankind. From these men we have inherited the desire, and to their memory we owe the resolution, that those great schemes of government and humanity, inspired by their patriotism, and established by their blood, shall remain as the fixed and permanent emblem of their labors, and the abiding signal of the liberty and progress of the race.

REPUBLICANS NEVER FAIL IN CRISES

There are many new names in these days, but the Republican party needs no new title. It stands now where it stood at the beginning. Memory alone is needed to tell the source from which the inspirations of the country flow. A drowsy memory would be as guilty now as a sleeping watchman when the enemy is astir. The name of the Republican party stands over every door where a righteous cause was born. Its members have gathered around every movement, no matter how weak, if inspired by high resolve. Its flag for more than fifty years has been the sign of hope on every spot where liberty was the word. That party needs no new name or platform to designate its purposes. It is now, as it has been, equipped, militant and in motion. The problems of every age that age must solve. Great causes impose great demands, but never in any enterprise have the American people failed, and never in any crisis has the Republican party failed to express the conscience and intelligence of that people.

The public mind is awake both to its opportunities and its dangers. Nowhere in the world, in any era, did citizenship mean more than it means to-day in America. Men of courage and sturdy character are ranging themselves together with a unanimity seldom seen. There is no excuse for groping in the dark, for the light is plain to him who will but raise his eyes. The American people believe in a man or party that has convictions and knows why. They believe that what experience has proved it is idle to resist. A wise man is any fool about to die. But there is a wisdom which, with good fortune, may guide the living and the strong. That wisdom springs from reason, observation and experience. Guided by these this thing is plain, and young men may rely upon it, that the history and purposes I have described, rising even to the essence and aspirations of patriotism, find their best concrete example in the career and doctrines of the Republican party.

A COMMON PURPOSE

But not alone upon the principles of that party are its members in accord. With the same devotion which has marked their adherence to those principles, magnificent and enduring as they are, they have already singled out the man to bear their standard and to lead the way. No higher badge was ever yet conferred. But, great as the honor is, the circumstances which surround it make the honor even more profound. You have come from every State and Territory in this vast domain. The country and the town have vied with each other in sending here their contributions to this splendid throng. Every highway in the land is leading here and crowded with the members of that great party which sees in this splendid city the symbol of its rise and power. Within this unexampled multitude is every rank and condition of free men, every creed and occupation. But to-day a common purpose and desire have engaged us all, and from every nook and corner of the country rises but a single choice to fill the most exalted office in the world.

ROOSEVELT IN PEACE AND WAR

He is no stranger waiting in the shade, to be called suddenly into public light. The American people have seen him for many years, and always where the fight was thickest and the greatest need was felt. He has been alike conspicuous in the pursuits of peace and in the arduous stress of war. No man now living will forget the spring of '98, when the American mind was so inflamed and American patriotism so aroused; when among all the eager citizens surging to the front as soldiers, the man whom this convention has already in its heart was among the first to hear the call and answer to his name. Preferring peace, but not afraid of war; faithful to every private obligation, yet first to volunteer at the sign of national peril; a leader in civil life, and yet so quick to comprehend the arts of war that he grew almost in a day to meet the high exactions of command. There is nothing which so tests a man as great and unexpected danger. He may pass his life among ordinary scenes, and what he is or does but few will ever know. But when the crash comes or the flames break out, a moment's time will single out the hero in the crowd. A flash of lightning in the night will reveal what years of daylight have not discovered to the eye. And so the flash of the Spanish war revealed that lofty courage and devotion which the American heart so loves, and which you have met again to decorate and recognize. His qualities do not need to be retold, for no man in that exalted place since Lincoln has been better known in every household in the land. He is not conservative, if conservatism means waiting till it is too late. He is not wise, if wisdom is to count a thing a hundred times when once will do. There is no regret so keen in man or country as that which follows an opportunity unembraced. Fortune soars with high and rapid wing, and whoever brings it down must shoot with accuracy

ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE

UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM INDIANA

HENRY C. LODGE

UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM MASSACHUSETTS

and speed. Only the man with steady eye and nerve, and the courage to pull the trigger brings the largest opportunities to the ground. He does not always listen while all the sages speak, but every day at nightfall beholds some record which, if not complete, has been at least pursued with conscience and intrepid resolution.

ONE MAN ONLY—ROOSEVELT

He is no slender flower swaying in the wind, but that heroic fiber which is best nurtured by the mountains and the snow. He spends little time in review, for that, he knows, can be done by the schools. A statesman grappling with the living problems of the hour, he gropes but little in the past. He believes in going ahead. He believes that in shaping the destinies of this great republic hope is a higher impulse than regret. He believes that preparation for future triumphs is a more important duty than an inventory of past mistakes. A profound student of history, he is to-day the greatest history-maker in the world. With the instincts of the scholar, he is yet forced from the scholar's pursuits by those superb qualities which fit him to the last degree for those great world currents now rushing past with larger volume and more portentous aspect than for many years before. The fate of nations is still decided by their wars. You may talk of orderly tribunals and learned referees; you may sing in your schools the gentle praises of the quiet life; you may strike from your books the last note of every martial anthem, and yet out in the smoke and thunder will always be the tramp of horses and the silent, rigid, upturned face. Men may prophesy and women pray, but peace will come here to abide forever on this earth only when the dreams of childhood are the accepted charts to guide the destinies of men. Events are numberless and mighty, and no man can tell which wire runs around the world. The nation basking to-day in the quiet of contentment and repose may still be on the deadly circuit and to-morrow writhing in the toils of war.

GREAT FIGURES IN FRONT

This is the time when great figures must be kept in front. If the pressure is great, the material to resist it must be granite and iron. Whether we wish it or not, America is abroad in this world. Her interests are in every street, her name is on every tongue. Those interests, so sacred and stupendous, should be trusted only to the care of those whose power, skill and courage have been tested and approved. And in the man whom you will choose the highest sense of every nation in the world beholds a man who typifies as no other living American does the spirit and the purposes of the twentieth century. He does not claim to be the Solomon of his time. There are many things he may not know, but this is sure, that above all things else he stands for progress, courage and fair play, which are the synonyms of the American name.

There are times when great fitness is hardly less than destiny, when the elements so come together that they select the agent they will use. Events sometimes select the strongest man, as lightning goes down the highest rod. And so it is with those events which for many months with unerring sight have led you to a single name which I am chosen only to pronounce: Gentlemen, I nominate for President of the United States the highest living type of the youth, the vigor and the promise of a great country and a great age, Theodore Roosevelt, of New York.

THE CONVENTION IN AN UPROAR

Mr. Black retired quickly from the platform, but the words "Theodore Roosevelt" had not left his lips when there was a shout. The convention was on its feet. Like the crash of thunder that follows the lightning, the enthusiasm began. Flags were in the air, hats were thrown up, men jumped onto their chairs, and women stood and shouted. The air was rent with one continuous, prolonged shout from thousands of throats. So mighty was the volume of noise that nothing definite in the way of articulate sound was distinguishable.

Black left the stage with the greatest applause of the convention rattling and banging around him. New York was the most animated aggregation of sedate citizens who ever were led to riot as the merry populace in a play. Their part in it was not put on the stage. It went in front of the curtain. It eclipsed every other uproar in the hall, and the total volume was something which threatened to shatter the skylights.

ENTHUSIASM IN THE NEW YORK DELEGATION

Cornelius Bliss was on a chair, waving a flag and making motions with his lips which led to the suspicion that he was cheering. Senator Platt was on the floor, but he had his flag and was using it. Elihu Root was as demonstrative as a college boy at a football game. They were the quiet ones of the delegation.

Senator Chauncey Depew was an elderly whirlwind and

Governor Odell a juvenile one. It was a tremendous spectacle of dignity on a spree. Their statesman was the man nominated, and their statesman was the man who had done it. New York's place was right in the limelight, and New York occupied it.

"Roosevelt, Roosevelt, Roosevelt of New York." They sang it lustily, beating time with their flags. And New York was confined in a small part of a great hall, and everywhere were yelling spectators.

In the galleries spectators were waving handkerchiefs and applauding; on the floor delegates were waving flags and yelling; up in the band-stand under the roof the band was playing, but nothing but an occasional note could be heard; on the platform the "distinguished guests" were yelling; men, women, and children were yelling. It wasn't hysteria, but it was a fair example of what nine thousand can do when they all yell at once and all keep on yelling.

SCENE OF WILD ENTHUSIASM

From his desk Cannon advanced along the gangway. He carried a torn flag fastened to a pole which had been snapped in the middle and bound together. He waved this flag over the New York delegation. Children with flags were raised to the platform.

From behind the stage two men rushed forward carrying a gigantic picture of the President. It swayed uncertainly in their hands as they ran through the crowd on the stage and out on the gangway. Two other men went to their support and the four managed to hold it up to view, turning it to all quarters of the hall. During five minutes the applause and yelling had been continuous.

New York left its seats and massed in the aisles. Cannon became hemmed in by the men with the picture and was forced to crawl under it to escape. Alaska started a tour of the hall, with the eagles mounted on totem poles held high in the air. A young man with a megaphone climbed to the stage and led a series of yells of "Roosevelt! Roosevelt!" During ten minutes the yelling had been continuous.

STILL THE UPROAR CONTINUES

Cannon came back out of the gangway with his torn flag and waved it. Men were congratulating Black as he made his way back to the New York delegation. Mayor Harrison was sizing up the performance and admitting to himself that for a cut and dried convention this exhibition did fairly well. For fifteen minutes the applause had been continuous.

A little girl, Louise Roberts, from the California delegation, was held up to the convention on the shoulders of a man standing on the stage. Another little girl, Naomi De Foe, from the Michigan delegation, was placed beside her. Both were waving flags. On the floor and in the galleries the delegates and spectators still shouted. The men with the picture were making a circuit of the hall.

When, after twenty-three minutes of tumult and cheering, Chairman Cannon finally secured order, the secretary read a history of the flag which Mr. Cannon had been waving. Grasping the flag and waving it over his head, Mr. Cannon said: "It prophesied victory in 1860; its life has been baptized on many a battlefield since, and it is safe in the hands of President Roosevelt."

Cheers followed and were increased when Mr. Cannon recognized Senator Beveridge of Indiana, whom he introduced in these words:

Gentlemen of the Convention: I have the honor of introducing to you a gentleman whom you all know; a son of Indiana, who, when he has a message, insists upon a hearing, and when he speaks the people are enlightened and enthused.

Mr. Beveridge spoke with force and increasing enthusiasm, emphasizing his points with a gesture with the right hand. His voice was easily heard. He said:

ADDRESS OF SENATOR BEVERIDGE

Gentlemen of the Convention: One difference between the opposition and ourselves is this: They select their candidate for the people, and the people select our candidate for us. This was true four years ago, when we accepted the people's judgment and named William McKinley, whose perfect mingling of mind and heart, of wisdom and of tenderness, won the trust and love of the nation then and makes almost holy his memory now. His power was in the people's favor, his shrine is in the people's hearts. It is true to-day when we again accept the people's judgment and name Theodore Roosevelt, whose sympathies are as wide as the republic, whose courage, honesty and vision meet all emergencies, and the sum of whose qualities make him the type of twentieth century Americanism. And the twentieth century American is nothing more than the man of '76 facing a new day with the old faith.

THE NOMINEE OF THE AMERICAN FIRESIDE

Theodore Roosevelt, like William McKinley, is the nominee of the American fireside. So were Washington and Jefferson in the early time; so was Andrew Jackson when he said, "The Union; it must be preserved"; so was Abraham Lincoln when, the republic saved, he bade us "bind us the nation's wounds"; and Grant when, from victory's very summit, his lofty words, "Let us have peace," voiced the spirit of the hour and the people's prayer. When nominated by parties, each of these great presidents was, at the periods named, already chosen by the public judgment. And so to-day, the Republican party, whose strength is in its obedience to the will of the American people, merely executes again the decree which comes to it from the American home in naming Theodore Roosevelt as our candidate.

The people's thought is his thought; American ideals, his ideals. This is his only chart of statesmanship—and no other is safe. For the truest guide an American president can have is the collective intelligence and massed morality of the American people. And this ancient rule of the fathers is the rule of our leaders now.

A LEADER WHO LEADS

Theodore Roosevelt is a leader who leads, because he carries out the settled purposes of the people. Our President's plans, when achieved, are always found to be merely the nation's will accomplished. And that is why the people will elect him.

They will elect him because they know that if he is president we will get to work and keep at work on the canal. After decades of delay, when the people want a thing done they want it done. They know that while he is president the flag will "stay put," and no American advantage in the Pacific or the world be surrendered. Americans never retreat.

While he is president no wrongdoer in the service of the government will go unwhipped of justice. Americans demand honesty and honor, vigilant and fearless. While he is president readjustment of tariff schedules will be made only in harmony with the principles of protection. Americans have memories. While he is president peace with every nation will be preserved at any cost, excepting only the sacrifice of American rights, and the vigor with which he maintains these will be itself a guarantee of peace. The American people will elect him because, in a word, they know that he does things the people want done; does things, not merely discusses them—does things only after discussing them—but does things, and does only those things the people would have him do. This is characteristically American, for wherever he is the American is he who achieves.

HIS POSITION PLAIN ON ALL QUESTIONS

On every question all men know where he stands. Americans, frank themselves, demand frankness in their servants. Uncertainty is the death of business. The people can always get along if they know where they are and whither they are going.

His past is his proof. Every great measure of his administration was so wise that, enthusiastically sustained by his own party, it won votes even from the opposition. Do you name Cuban reciprocity? The opposition resisted, and then opposition votes helped to ratify it. Do you name corporate legislation? The opposition resisted, and then opposition votes helped to enact it. Do you name the canal—that largest work of centuries, the eternal wedding of oceans, shrinking the circumference of the globe, making distant peoples neighbors, advancing forever civilization all around the world? This historic undertaking in the interest of all the race, planned by American statesmanship, to be wrought by American hands, to stand through the ages protected by the American flag; this vast achievement which will endure when our day shall have become ancient, and which alone is enough to make the name of Theodore Roosevelt illustrious through all time—this fulfillment of the Republic's dream accomplished by Republican effort, finally received votes even from an opposition that tried to thwart it.

Of what measure of Theodore Roosevelt's administration does the opposition dare even to propose the repeal? And when has the record of any president won greater approval?

THE PEOPLE LOVE HIM

And so the people trust him as a statesman. Better than that, they love him as a man. He wins admiration in vain who wins not affection also. In the American home—that temple of happiness and virtue, where dwell the wives and mothers of the republic, cherishing the beautiful in life and guarding the morality of the nation—in the American home the name of Theodore Roosevelt is not only honored, but beloved. And that is a greater triumph than the victory of battlefields, greater credit than successful statesmanship, greater honor than the presidency itself would be without it. Life holds no reward so noble as the confidence and love of the American people.

The American people! The mightiest force for good the ages have evolved! They began as children of liberty. They believed in God and His providence. They took truth and justice and tolerance as their eternal ideals and marched fearlessly forward. Wildernesses stretched before them—they subdued them. Mountains rose—they crossed them. Deserts obstructed—they passed them. Their faith failed them not, and a continent was theirs. From ocean to ocean cities rose, fields blossomed, railroads ran; but everywhere church and school were permanent proof that the principles of their origin were the life of their maturity.

American methods changed, but American character remained the same. They outlived the stage-coach, but not the Bible. They advanced, but forgot not their fathers. They delved in earth, but remembered the higher things. They made highways of the oceans, but distance and climate altered not their Americanism. They began as children of liberty, and children of liberty they remain. They began as servants of the Father of Light, and His servants they remain. And so into their hands is daily given more of power and opportunity that they may work even larger righteousness in the world and scatter over ever-widening fields the blessed seeds of human happiness.

WONDERFUL PROGRESS

Wonderful beyond prophecy's forecast their progress; noble beyond the vision of desire their future. In 1801 Jefferson said, "The United States (then) had room enough for our descendants to the thousandth and thousandth generation." Three generations behold the oceans our boundaries. Washington never dreamed of railways. To-day electricity and steam make Maine and California household neighbors. This advance, which no seer could have foretold, we made because we are Americans—because a free people with unfettered minds and unquestioning belief joyfully faced the universe of human possibilities. These possibilities are not exhausted. We have hardly passed their boundaries. The American people are not exhausted; we have only tested our strength. God's work for us in the world is not

finished; His future missions for the American people will be grander than any He has given us, nobler than we now can comprehend. And these tasks as they come we will accept and accomplish as our fathers accomplished theirs. And when our generation shall have passed and our children shall catch from our aging hands the standard we have borne, it will still be the old flag of Yorktown and Appomattox and Manila Bay; the music to which they in their turn will then move onward will still be the strains that cheered the dying Warren on Bunker Hill and inspired the men who answered Lincoln's call; and the ideals that will be in them triumphant as they are in us will still be the old ideals that have made the American people great and honored among the nations of the earth.

THE AMERICANISM OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT

This is the Republican idea of the American people; this the thought we have when we nominate to-day our candidate for the nation's chief; this the quality of Americanism a Republican standard-bearer must have. And this is just the Americanism of Theodore Roosevelt. Full of the old-time faith in the republic and its destiny; charged with the energy of the republic's full manhood; cherishing the ordinances of the republic's fathers and having in his heart the fear of God; inspired by the sure knowledge that the republic's splendid day is only in its dawn, Theodore Roosevelt will lead the American people in paths of safety to still greater welfare for themselves, still broader betterment of the race and to the added honor of the American name. Therefore Indiana seconds the nomination of Theodore Roosevelt.

When the convention had expressed its appreciation of Indiana's second to the nomination Chairman Cannon announced that George A. Knight of California would also second the nomination. The California delegation showed that it was prepared for the occasion. The old stage-coach, long-drawn yell, "Wahoo!" echoed through the hall, and a banner, followed by a huge wreath of flowers, was borne through the hall as Mr. Knight proceeded to the platform. Mr. Knight was introduced by Chairman Cannon. He had a voice which penetrated the furthest recesses of the hall and rolled back in echoes from the arched iron roof. As he began some one at the back of the hall shouted, "Not so loud!" This was a touch which the convention appreciated, and there was a hearty laugh. Mr. Knight said:

MR. KNIGHT'S SPEECH

Gentlemen of the Convention: Geography has but little to do with the sentiment and enthusiasm that is to-day apparent in favor of the one who is to be given all the honors and duties of an elected president of the United States of America. However, the Pacific slope and the islands (those ocean buoys of commerce moored in the drowsy tropical sea) send to this convention words of confident greeting, with discreet assurance that your judgment will be indorsed by the American voter and our country continue its wonderful progress under Republican rule.

The time is ripe for brightening up Americanism, to teach with renewed vigor the principles of individual liberty for which the Minute Men of the Revolution fought—the Lincoln liberty, an individual liberty for the man, not a black alone, any men, all men; the right to labor in the air of freedom unmolested, and be paid for his individual toil and with it build his cottage home. From the press, the pulpit, the schoolhouse, the platform and the street let the true history of our country be known, that the young men and women of America, and many old ones, may know what a price has been paid for the liberty, peace and union they enjoy through the devoted patriotism of our silent heroes of the past.

DEPRIVATION AND SACRIFICE ENDURED

Deprivation and sacrifice were endured for many years before the old bell in the State House was given the voice to speak the glorious sentiment of the age and proclaim liberty throughout all the land, and they were made the instruments by which the principles productive of our national grandeur were set as jewels in our republic's coronet. What we prayed for, fought for, bled for and died for we want cared for. Telegraph the world that the Republican party was the first organization that beckoned the laboring man to his feet and made him know the quality and equality of his true self. It showed him the possibilities of honest poverty, and has withheld nothing from his worthy ambition. It took a rail splitter from the ground floor of a log cabin and set him with the stars.

Protection to American labor and our natural resources, climate, soil, agricultural and mineral wealth, navigable rivers and safe harbors, wise laws and clean public men, have made us the greatest nation on earth to-day. In territory we have outgrown the continent; we are peopling the isles of the sea.

Thus said the Lord, a great eagle with great wings, long-winged and full of feathers, which had divers colors, came unto Lebanon and took the highest branch of the cedar. He cropped off the top of its young twigs and carried it into a land of traffic; he set it in a city of merchants; he took also of the seed of the land and planted it in a fruitful field; he placed it across great waters and set it as a willow tree.

How like unto our emblem of freedom he has cropped off the young twigs of our cedar of liberty and carried them across the ocean to the land of traffic and set them in the city of merchants! The seed of our land is there among fruitful fields, beside great waters and set as a willow tree.

HE HYPNOTIZES OBSTACLES

Our country is big and broad and grand; we want a president typical of the country, one who will preserve her history, enforce her law, teach Americanism and fight the wrong. Theodore Roosevelt, thou art the man. Well may he be proud; he is young, the pride of life is his and time is on his side; he loves the whole country and knows no favorite section; he has performed his sacred promise; he has kept the faith with McKinley's memory, and now faces responsibilities his own. He hypnotizes obstacles, looks them in the eye and overpowers with self-conscious honesty of purpose.

Dishonesty, cowardice and duplicity are never impulsive; Roosevelt is impulsive, so be it—he is different. From a Democratic point of view, he is a weird magician of politics. They charged him with disrupting a government on the isthmus, creating a republic and unlawfully conniving at a canal. They awoke one fine morning to find the republic of Panama an entity, its existence recognized by foreign nations and Congress paying out millions of dollars to ratify his strategic promptness.

UNCLE SAM WANTED THE JOB

He wanted to give Uncle Sam a job, and he did it, and Uncle Sam wanted the job and he took it. He belongs to the union. We see him standing to-day with his feet upon the spade; his garments are made of his flag; his inventive Yankee whiskers are bushed; there is an American smile on his face and his heart is gladdened as he looks at the golden sunrise of his commercial future. Barnacle-bottomed ships of the great salt sea will greet the great Father of Waters and make every town on his banks a maritime city. The owner of the farm, factory and mine will become familiar with names they never knew and write strange addresses on the exports they send across the unharvested ocean. Australia, New Zealand, Yokohama, Hongkong, Manila, Honolulu and Corea will be some of the new names the new South will be glad to know, and their children will bless the President that gave them their wonderful opportunities of trade. The blessings of this great work cannot be told in words, and figures will get wabbly and unsteady with their load when you chalk them on the blackboard of time.

We want this younger Lincoln—this keeper of our great eagle—we want him with his hands on the halyards of our flag; we want him the defender of our constitution and the executive of our law, and when we have used him and the

best years of his young manhood for the good of the nation, he will still be holding our banner of liberty, with stars added to its azure field, its history sacred, its stripes untarnished, and by command of the majority hand it to the American patriot standing next in line.

AN OVATION TO MR. KNIGHT

Mr. Knight was surrounded by an enthusiastic throng as he left the platform. Senator Scott of West Virginia threw his arms around him and hugged him enthusiastically. The California delegation, with the great gold banner, started on a brief parade, but it was soon over, and Chairman Cannon announced the next speaker, Harry Stillwell Edwards.

The speech of Mr. Edwards was eminently satisfactory, and he was frequently interrupted by applause. He said:

MR. EDWARDS SPEAKS FOR THE SOUTH

It is eminently fit and proper that a Georgian should on this occasion second the eloquent speaker from New York, that the voice of the motherland should blend with the voice of the fatherland to declare that the destinies of America shall for four years more be intrusted to the great son born of the union of the two Empire States.

I do not belittle the influence of a father when I say that if the iron in a son's nature be derived from him, the gold is coined from the heart of the mother whose lap has cradled him. And because I believe this, because the lesson at the mother's knee is the seed that sends a stalk toward heaven and opens far up its auxiliary blossoms in the morning light, because the lofty ideals of manhood are rooted deeper than youth, because that which a man instinctively would be has been dreamed for him in advance by a mother, I claim for Georgia the larger share in the man you have chosen your leader.

GEORGIA CLAIMS THE LARGER SHARE

The childhood of the good woman who bore him was cast near where the Atlantic flows in over the marsh and the sand. There she first built her a home in the greatness of God. Womanhood found her within the uplifting view of the mountains in a land over which the Almighty inverts a sapphire cup by day and sets His brightest stars on guard by night. And there, fellow countrymen, the soul of your President was born. Those of us who know and love him catch in the easy flow of his utterance and feel in its largeness of thought and contempt of littleness

the rhythm of the ocean on the Georgian sands and the spirit of the deep. In his lofty ideals and hopefulness, in his fixedness of purpose and unchanging, rock-ribbed honesty we hear the mountains calling. In his daring, his impulsive courage, his unconquerable manhood, we see his great brother, the Georgia volunteer, in the hand-to-hand fights of the wilderness, the impetuous rush up the heights of Gettysburg and the defiance of overwhelming odds from Chattanooga to Atlanta. We look on him as a Georgian abroad; and if, in the providence of God, it may be so, we shall welcome him home some day—not as a prodigal son who has wasted his manhood, but as one who on every field of endeavor has honored his mother and worn the victor's wreath.

A MASTER STROKE OF GENIUS

Coming into the position of the martyred McKinley, the youngest chief magistrate that has ever filled the presidential chair, without the privilege and advantage of preliminary discussion and consultation, he gave the country a pledge that he would carry out the policies of his predecessor. It was a master stroke of genius, applauded alike North and South. His conception of the duties of his high office, as enunciated by him at Harvard, was "to serve all alike, well; to act in a spirit of fairness and justice to all men, and to give each man his rights." He has kept his pledge; he has lived up to this fine conception of his duty. This pledge involved a completion of the work begun in Cuba and an honorable discharge of the promises made to our struggling neighbor. The flag of an independent republic floats over Havana to-day, and all men know that we have kept faith with the Cuban people. Leaving the details to engineers, he has cut as by a single stroke the Panama Canal through mountains of prejudice and centuries of ignorance. In the far Philippines our flag floats, a guarantee of redemption, pacification and development. His conception of duty has led him into difficult places in dealing with the internal affairs of our own country; he has met every issue bravely and ably and demonstrated not only that prompt and decided action is often the highest expression of conservatism, but that it is safe to trust the impulse of a man who is essentially and instinctively honest.

THE APPLAUSE OF MANLY HEARTS

Fellow countrymen, after nearly four years of Theodore Roosevelt, we find the army and navy on a better footing, our trade expanded, the country at peace and prosperous and our flag respected in every quarter of the globe. The American people will not withhold from him the applause of manly hearts. I am proud that my State, the Empire State of the South, shares in the glory of his achievements, as it will share in their benefits.

It is not pretended that the section from which I come to you is, as a section, in

sympathy with your political party. But I am as sure as that I stand here that the great majority of intelligent business men in the South are in sympathy with the controlling principles of your platform and opposed to those of your opponents as last declared. And I am equally sure that they recognize and respect the fearless honesty of your leader. Headlines are not history, nor does the passionate partisan write the final verdict of a great people. History, despite the venom of the small politician, will do him the justice to record that he has gone further than any man who has occupied the White House since the Civil War to further the vital interests of the South. The standard of appointments has been the same for Georgia as for New York. He has insisted on efficiency and integrity as the chief tests, North and South alike. Of the thousand or more original postoffice appointments in Georgia under his administration, not one has, within my knowledge, been criticised by even the unfriendly and partisan press of the State. A Southern man, General Wright, by his appointment holds the honor of this country in trust in the far Philippines, and on him your President relies for the advancement and development of the 7,000,000 people who are there working out their destinies. Two judges of first instance, one a Democrat and one a Republican, and both from Georgia, are there by his appointment to administer the laws. In the army there and here, in the navy and in all the divisions of the civil government Southern men have felt the friendly touch of his hand. The character of these appointments and the whole policy give the lie to those designing knaves who charge him with stirring up strife between races and arraying section against section. "I am proud of your great deeds; for you are my people." This was his greeting to a Southern audience, and no honest man doubts that he meant it.

THE SOUTH BELIEVES IN ROOSEVELT

The South shares in the magnificent prosperity which our great country has achieved under the Republican party. Especially has she felt the beneficial effect of your policies during the last eight years; and the hardest fact your opponents have to contend with is the fact that your financial policy has been tested and found to be sound and efficient. They have sufficed for eight years at least, and the Democratic partisan who has twice in that time been led captive behind the silver car of Bryan must be optimistic beyond expression if he believes that the country will suffer alarm over the prospect of four years more of prosperity. The South deals in cotton goods, cottonseed products, coal, iron, oil and lumber, and business enterprises in connection with these and other industries have increased and multiplied. Traveling from Washington to Macon, one is never off a first-class railroad nor long out of sight of the smoke of a mill. The people who conduct these and kindred enterprises, who are raising cotton at from ten to sixteen cents a pound, wheat

at from seventy-five cents to one dollar a bushel; whose coal, iron and lumber are in demand throughout the world, whose home market is assured, and whose lands are rapidly increasing in value, are not alarmed over the prospect of another Republican victory under Roosevelt. They are not alarmed over the digging of a canal at Panama that will give them direct communication with five or six hundred millions of people who need the products of their fields and factories. Nor are they alarmed that increased railway and river transportation will be required to move these products to Southern ports, or that from these ports, under a Republican administration, yellow fever, the South's dread enemy, has been banished, millions saved annually to the taxpayer and the business year raised from nine months to twelve.

A DISTRUST OF DEMOCRATIC POLICIES

The prosperity of the South is wrapped up in the politics of the Republican party, and the Southern people are beginning to realize it. Southern business sentiment indicates an increasing distrust of the policies of the Democratic party. In 1896 Georgia, accustomed to enormous Democratic majorities, gave 94,000 votes for Bryan and 60,000 for McKinley. North Carolina cast 174,000 votes for Bryan and 155,000 for McKinley. Virginia gave 154,000 votes for Bryan and 135,000 for McKinley. And this was according to Democratic counts. Maryland and West Virginia cast Republican majorities in both 1896 and 1900. In Virginia, Georgia and North Carolina in 1900 12 to 15 per cent of the people who had voted in 1896 stayed away from the polls and sacrificed their last opportunity to worship the "popular idol." An analysis of election returns shows that the distrust of Democracy was most pronounced and conspicuous in centers of trade, manufactures and commerce.

Fellow countrymen, we of the South believe in Roosevelt and in his ability to meet every issue at home and abroad triumphantly. We believe that he is animated by a spirit of patriotism as broad and as bright as has ever streamed from the White House over our beloved country; and we believe that when he has fulfilled his mission, he, the son of the North and South, will carry with him the consciousness that fatherland and motherland, once divorced in sadness, through him and because of him have been drawn together again in the bonds of the old affection. And we believe that when he goes at length into the retirement of private life he will go beloved of all patriotic Americans, from Canada to the Gulf, and from ocean to ocean. Mr. Chairman, in half of the motherland, I second the nomination of Theodore Roosevelt.

BRADLEY REPRESENTS KENTUCKY

Former Governor Bradley of Kentucky was next introduced as coming from that State and of that people who take their politics, like their whisky, straight. He said:

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention: The Republican party has made no mistakes, consequently it has no apologies to offer. The Republican party has broken no promises; therefore it enters no plea of confession and avoidance. Its only guaranty for the future is the record of its past.

During all these eventful years the Democratic party has resisted every step of advancement or improvement. They have been stupid objectors, miserable malcontents, and common scolds. They have abandoned their Moses and have been unable to discover a Joshua.

UNSAFE ONLY TO TRICKSTERS

We are told by his enemies that the President is unsafe. He is unsafe only to the trickster, to the grafter, to the man who would deny the equal protection of law to any class of American citizens. They tell us that he cannot be trusted; but the people know that one who does a right thing at the right time and in the right way is entitled to vast, implicit confidence.

In Kentucky, my friends, we have contended with principalities and powers and the rulers of darkness. We have fought with all manner of beasts—not at Ephesus, but at Frankfort—but we are nerving ourselves for the conflict in November and we hope that we will break the chains that partisan legislation has thrown around us and restore freedom to the State which gave birth to Abraham Lincoln, and holds within itself the ashes of Henry Clay.

COTTON PUTS MINNESOTA IN LINE

Joseph B. Cotton of Minnesota was the next speaker. He said in part:

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention: Seconding speeches here are of no moment, for the nomination already has been made by the American people themselves. No words of any man are needed to tell you that he is preëminently qualified to be our great leader.

The State of Minnesota, the mighty empire of the Northwest, whose growth and prosperity will ever keep full pace with the giant trade of the nation itself, desires to second the nomination of that intrepid leader, that potent statesman and doer of things, that greatest workman upon the greater America—Theodore Roosevelt.

NEGRO DELEGATE IS SPEAKER

The chairman then introduced Harry S. Cummings of Maryland, a colored delegate, who spoke as follows:

Gentlemen of the Convention: I have been admonished that the greatest service I can do the great American people to-day, and the opportunity of my life to

make a hero of myself, is to speak as short as possible. It becomes the duty of this convention to-day to nominate a gentleman who shall lead the great Republican host to victory in the coming contest; a man who stands and measures up in every particular to the responsibility of the high office of president of the grandest republic upon which the sun ever has shone. In our present chief executive, he has been named, and so surely as he will be nominated by this convention to-day, just so surely will he be elected by the people in November.

ROLL CALL IS UNANIMOUS

When the applause subsided the chairman announced that the clerk would call the roll. Every State cast its vote for Theodore Roosevelt. When New Jersey was reached, Gov. Franklin Murphy said: "Mr. Chairman, New Jersey asks unanimous consent that the further calling of the roll be dispensed with."

There was such decided opposition to Governor Murphy's motion that he did not press it, and the calling of the roll was proceeded with.

For Texas, Charles A. Boynton announced: "Texas casts her thirty-six votes for her adopted son, the 'rough rider,' who went from the Alamo to San Juan Hill."

"The total number of votes in the convention is 994," announced Speaker Cannon. "Theodore Roosevelt has 994 votes. It only remains for me to announce that Theodore Roosevelt of the State of New York is your candidate for the presidency for the term commencing on March 4, 1905."

The roll was then called for the nomination of candidates for the vice-presidency. Alabama again yielded precedence; this time to the State of Iowa. Senator Dolliver placed Senator Fairbanks in nomination. He spoke as follows:

SENATOR DOLLIVER'S SPEECH

Gentlemen of the Convention: Everything in this convention has gone smoothly and easily because the American people did their thinking on these subjects before they commissioned us to come here and transact their business.

WILLIAM P. FRYE

UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM MAINE

JOHN C. SPOONER

UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM WISCONSIN

Our hearts are saddened by the circumstance that the last four years have been strangely stricken in the organization and leadership of the Republican party. Governor Dingley is dead and gone; his name rendered immortal by legislation which began the miracle of industrial and commercial progress which opened the twentieth century in the United States. We miss calm Reed, who put an end to anarchy in the house of representatives.

ERA OF YOUNGER LEADERS

We are, in a sense—all hail to the old leaders of the Republican party—we are in a sense face to face with a new era in the political history of the United States, an era that shall take its character from the traditions of the Republican party and from the personality of men born since 1850.

That is the significance, in part, at least, of the unanimous nomination of Theodore Roosevelt as president of the United States, and that, also, is the significance of the unanimity with which this convention, interpreting the will of the American people, has called into its service and is about to commission as his associate for the guidance and leadership of the Republican party, Charles W. Fairbanks, our candidate for vice-president.

A farmer boy, a student making his way through college, a country lawyer, a statesman, a leader of the Republican party, fit for any of its great responsibilities, I nominate this great Republican and this representative type of the best there is in the Republicanism of our times—Senator Fairbanks of Indiana.

SENATOR DEPEW FOLLOWS

Cheers and applause followed until Chairman Cannon finally succeeded in securing order and introduced Senator Depew of New York.

Senator Depew was received with applause and friendly cries from all parts of the house. One remark coming from a delegate, 'Have you had your dinner?" the senator selected and used as a text and said:

My friend wants to know if I have had my dinner; but what I am about to say is in behalf of dinners for the American people. I cannot help contrasting, in listening to the eloquence with which we have been privileged this morning, what will be the difference when our Democratic friends meet on July 6th to go through with their duty of nominating candidates and adopting platforms. We here have been unanimous as to our candidates, all agreed upon our principles, all recognizing and

applauding our great statesmen, living and dead, and agreeing with them. In that convention there will be the only two living exponents of Democratic principles.

On the one side will be Democracy's only president rising and saying, "Be sane." On the other side, in opposition, will come their last candidate for president, saying, "Be Democrats." The two are incompatible.

ILLUSTRATES WITH A STORY

Now, my friends, while we present the positive, the convention which meets on July 6th represents that element unknown heretofore in American politics, the opportunist. It is waiting for bankruptcy, waiting for panic, waiting for industrial depression, waiting for financial distress.

There was an old farmer upon the Maine coast who owned a farm with a rocky ledge running out into the ocean called Hurricane Point, and on it ships were wrecked and he gathered his harvest from the wrecks, and in his will he wrote: "I devise my farm equally among my children, but Hurricane Point shall be kept for all of you forever, for while the winds blow and the waves roll the Lord will provide."

But we have put a lighthouse on Hurricane Point, a lighthouse of protection, with a revolving light shedding gold over the ocean, and American commerce going and coming is absolutely safe.

OF FULL PRESIDENTIAL SIZE

Now, gentlemen, it is my privilege in looking for vice-presidential possibilities to announce what you all know, that we have found a vice-presidential candidate of full presidential size. Every one knows that if the towering figure of Theodore Roosevelt had been out of this canvass one of the promising candidates before convention for president of the United States would have been Charles W. Fairbanks.

New York, appreciating his great ability as a lawyer, appreciating the national name he has made for himself as a senator, appreciating his dignity, his character, and his genius for public affairs, seconds the nomination of Charles W. Fairbanks for vice-president of the United States.

FORAKER ADDRESSES CONVENTION

Senator Foraker of Ohio then was introduced and spoke as follows:

Gentlemen of the Convention: We have come here to do three things: Make a platform, name the next president of the United States, and also name the next vice-president of the United States. We have done two of these things and are about to do the third. And we have done both of the things well.

On the ticket with Theodore Roosevelt as his associate for the presidency we want to place a man who represents in his personality, in his beliefs, in his public service, in his high character, all this splendid record the Republican party has made, all these great declarations of these former platforms; and a man who will typify, as the leader of our ticket will, the highest ambition and the noblest purposes of the Republican party of the United States.

I will not stand here and detain you with a eulogy of Senator Fairbanks beyond simply saying that to all who know him personally, as those of us who have been closely associated with him in the public service, he meets all the requirements so eloquently stated by Senator Depew.

PENNSYLVANIA'S GOVERNOR IS NEXT

Governor Pennypacker of Pennsylvania, who made the next seconding speech, said:

Gentlemen of the Convention: Pennsylvania recalls that Abraham Lincoln and Uncle Joe Cannon, both of them wanderers from the South to reach distinction in the North, before they came to Illinois had a preliminary training in Indiana.

She remembers that when her own senator, he who did so much for the Republican party and whose wise counsels, alas, are missing to-day, bore the commission to Washington, he had no more earnest supporter than the able and distinguished senator who then, as now, represented Indiana in the senate. Pennsylvania, with the approval of her judgment, with glad anticipations of victory in her heart, seconds the nomination for the vice-presidency of Charles W. Fairbanks of Indiana.

CARTER SPEAKS FOR MONTANA

Former Senator Thomas H. Carter of Montana, who followed, said:

Gentlemen of the Convention: It will at once be consoling and reassuring to you for me to announce that I do not rise to make a speech, but to make a deliberate announcement. You will all remember how eight years ago the intermountain country, theretofore solidly Republican, became tempest-tossed and discredited. It will be remembered with regret that since 1892 Republican electoral votes in the Rocky Mountain country have been few and far between. I am here to-day to say to you that from the Canadian line to the south line of the Colorado and from the Missouri River to the Pacific Ocean every electoral vote will be cast for Theodore Roosevelt.

Of all those who have been sympathetic through good and evil report, while standing inflexible for the cardinal principles of the party, one of the strongest and

most comforting of all who have helped has been Charles Fairbanks of Indiana, whose nomination I second.

FAVORITE SONS ARE DROPPED

Chairman Cannon asked if there were any further nominations, and then said that by unanimous consent the further call of the States would be dispensed with. Senator Depew then asked unanimous consent that the roll call be suspended and that Senator Fairbanks' nomination be made by a unanimous vote. W. P. Miles of Nebraska objected and seconded the nomination in behalf of his State. L. W. Parker of Missouri followed and withdrew the name of Cyrus Wallbridge as its candidate. The chairman then said: "Is there objection? The chair hears none, and it only remains for the chair to declare that Charles W. Fairbanks of the State of Indiana is the candidate for vice-president for the term beginning March 4, 1905, by the unanimous choice of the convention."

ASSIGNS HEADS OF COMMITTEES

The following resolution, offered by Senator Dolliver, then was adopted:

Resolved, That the permanent chairman of this convention, the Hon. Joseph G. Cannon of Illinois, be appointed chairman of the committee to notify the Hon. Theodore Roosevelt of his nomination for president, and that the temporary chairman, the Hon. Elihu Root of New York, be appointed chairman of the committee to notify the Hon. Charles W. Fairbanks of his nomination for vice-president; and that the committee notify the candidate for president on July 27th and the candidate for vice-president on August 3d.

Senator Heyburn of Idaho offered the following resolution, which was adopted:

Resolved, That the thanks of this convention are tendered to the temporary, the permanent chairman, the secretary and his assistants, the sergeant at arms, and his deputies, the tally and reading clerks, the official reporters, and their messengers.

Another resolution, offered by Governor Murphy of New Jersey and adopted, was:

Resolved, That the thanks of this convention are hereby tendered to the Hon. Samuel B. Raymond, chairman, and the members of the Chicago committee on arrangement, the members of the sub-committee of the Republican national committee, and the citizens of Chicago, for the hospitable and perfect provision made for the sessions of the convention, and the entertainment of the delegates, alternates, and visitors.

The clerk then read the list of the committees to notify the nominees. On motion of Graeme Stewart the convention adjourned sine die at 2:26 p. m.

CHAPTER XX

THROUGH ONE ADMINISTRATION

President Roosevelt's First Message—Entertains Prince Henry of Prussia—Cuban Reciprocity—The Great Anthracite Coal Strike—The Venezuelan Affair—The Alaskan Boundary—The Panama Canal—Postoffice Frauds—The Railroad Merger Defeated—The Hay Note.

The three years of President Roosevelt's first administration were eventful ones in the history of the country, and it has been said that few presidents were ever called upon to settle so many momentous questions. Theodore Roosevelt, for one thing, will go down to history as the American president in whose hands Congress placed the lump sum of $180,000,000, told him to select a route, and dig the Panama Canal. There were no restrictions. He was told to choose his own engineers, to make his own contracts. More than that, after he had negotiated and secured the right of way, thus adding a strip of territory to American possessions, Congress told him to make such laws for the government of that territory as he saw fit. What ruler among all the great of the earth has ever been freely vested with so tremendous a responsibility?

FIRST MESSAGE CONSERVATIVE

President Roosevelt's first message was read in Congress on the first Tuesday in December, 1901. It was one of the most vigorous presidential messages ever read to the representatives of the people. It was outspoken, and yet conservative. It called for a vigorous, honest administration of the affairs of every department of the government; was out-

spoken in its friendship for labor; promised the reorganization of the army, urged the strengthening of the navy, and above all voiced the American desire for peace with all nations.

ENTERTAINS PRINCE HENRY

Early in 1902 President Roosevelt was called upon by international courtesy to entertain as the nation's guest Prince Henry of Prussia, brother of the emperor of Germany, who visited the United States, accompanied by a number of the most distinguished statesmen, admirals, and generals. The ostensible purpose of Prince Henry's visit was to be present at the launching of the kaiser's American-built yacht Meteor. The real reason, however, was to cement the bonds of friendship between the United States and the German empire.

CUBAN RECIPROCITY BILL

In his first message to Congress President Roosevelt urged the passage of the Cuban reciprocity bill. The House passed the bill on April 18, 1902, but it failed to secure the approval of the Senate. Its failure in the Senate marked the beginning of a friendly contest between Congress and the President, in which the President, who appealed to the people, eventually won.

On May 20, 1902, President Roosevelt handed over to a Cuban president and a Cuban congress the government of the Cuban republic. From January 1, 1898, until May 20, 1902, Cuba had been under the military rule of the United States. The island wrested from Spain by the American army and navy was destined by Congress under the Teller resolution, passed in April, 1897, to become a republic free and independent among all the nations of the earth. When Spanish authority ended on the island, of government there was none.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT REDEEMED THE PLEDGE

The Cubans had to be taught how to govern themselves. Under the direction first of Major-General Brooke and then of Major-General Leonard Wood, the Cubans were educated in the science of government. These officers taught the Cubans how to collect revenue, to police cities, to conduct a postal department, to manage free schools, to conserve public health. On May 20, 1902, the American flag was lowered and Cuba took her place among the free nations of the earth. President Roosevelt had redeemed the pledge made by Congress.

Congress adjourned on July 1, 1902, having failed to pass the Cuban reciprocity treaty. This marked the beginning of President Roosevelt's campaign for the treaty. He was sincere in his belief that American honor and obligation to an infant republic was involved, and he had no hesitancy in appealing to the people for their support. So confident was he of the ultimate result that he sent Tasker H. Bliss to Cuba with instructions to negotiate a reciprocity treaty with the new republic.

THE ANTHRACITE COAL STRIKE

In the meantime President Roosevelt was engaged in the settlement of one of the most serious problems of domestic policy that ever threatened American industrial supremacy. This was the great anthracite coal strike of 1902.

The memory of the paralyzing effect of the now famous strike is still fresh in the minds of the American people. For 154 days—nearly half a year—it demoralized the industries of the country. Before it ended, the country faced a coal famine that threatened to paralyze every industry east of the Mississippi River. Mines were closed, steel plants shut down, fac-

tories idle. The strike had cost railroads, manufacturers, and merchants altogether the enormous sum of $200,000,000. A vast army of 185,000 miners were idle, and to that number were added daily thousands of workmen from factories and steel plants that had been compelled to close down.

There have been other strikes as serious in the history of the country. The memory of the Homestead strike in 1892 is still fresh and there had been a reign of lawlessness and terror in Pittsburg in 1875, when scores of lives had been sacrificed and millions of dollars' worth of property destroyed. President Roosevelt determined that the country should not witness another Homestead horror, and when every other effort to settle the strike of 1902 had failed he summoned the owners of the anthracite coal mines to a conference at the White House.

AGREED TO THE PRESIDENT'S ARBITRATION

John Mitchell, president of the United Mine Workers, participated in the conference. The mine owners refused to arbitrate, and insisted that President Roosevelt should send federal troops into the mining region, overawe the strikers, and, in fact, open the mines to non-union labor at the point of the bayonet and the muzzle of the gatling gun.

On the other hand, John Mitchell, one of the ablest organizers and leaders of union labor in the country, offered to submit the whole controversy—wages, hours of labor, recognition of the union, and all—to the arbitration of President Roosevelt, agreeing in advance to abide by his decision.

Everybody knows how the controversy ended. The mine owners were finally compelled to agree to President Roosevelt's proposals and the whole controversy was settled by a board of arbitration selected by the President. The miners

won on nearly every point, and from that day down to the present there has not been a dispute between the anthracite operators and miners.

THE VENEZUELAN INCIDENT

The Venezuelan affair came up in the closing weeks of 1902. It was a notable incident in American history, for it enabled President Roosevelt to secure from the European powers a more cordial recognition of the Monroe Doctrine and at the same time to give that famous American principle new and broader interpretation.

It is not necessary to refer here to the events leading up to the Venezuelan incident. On December 7, 1902, a fleet made up of British and German warships appeared at La Guayra. On the evening of that day both nations presented ultimatums to President Castro, demanding the payment of debts long overdue to citizens of Great Britain and Germany. Both nations had secured the assent of the United States to their program, which included the probable seizure of one or two Venezuelan ports and their occupation until the collection of customs revenue sufficed to pay the claims. The right of foreign powers to adopt this course with Central and South American republics has never been questioned.

Venezuela, however, refused to submit tamely to the Anglo-German program. President Castro called out an army of 200,000 men and prepared to fight. Germany and Great Britain, to their overwhelming surprise, found that their plans for a peaceful blockade had gone awry and that they were engaged in actual war with the hot-headed South American republic. And it was like real war. Venezuelan warships were captured and scuttled, ports were bombarded, and people were killed.

More than that, Germany and Great Britain declared a blockade of the Venezuelan coast and began to lay plans for landing an army and fighting a way across the mountains to Caracas.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE INTERPRETED

This simply meant indefinite occupation of the soil of an American republic by a European power, and President Roosevelt refused to permit it. On the night of December 14th the ambassadors of Great Britain and Germany at Washington were handed memorandums to the following effect:

It must be understood that the United States could not give its consent to any extension of the international right of peaceful blockade.

In other words, President Roosevelt informed the powers of Europe that they would not be permitted to make war upon an American republic for the sake of collecting a debt.

That ended the Venezuelan affair. Great Britain and Germany protested that they had no intention of infringing upon the Monroe Doctrine. They withdrew their fleets and settled with Venezuela by negotiation, United States Minister Bowen, with the consent of President Roosevelt, acting as the representative of the South American republic.

ALASKAN BOUNDARY ARBITRATED

The negotiation of the Alaskan boundary arbitration convention was coincident with the settlement of the Venezuelan affair. President Roosevelt, in negotiating with the British ambassador, stated the limit of the concessions the United States was willing to make. He would submit the controversy to a tribunal of six men, three to be named by the United States and three by Great Britain. The proposal was accepted, and President Roosevelt named as the American commissioners Elihu Root, Senator Lodge, and ex-Senator

Turner. The joint commission met in London on September 3, 1903, and on October 20th following gave its decision in favor of the United States.

The year 1903 was full of the events that go to make up the history of a nation. Not only was the Alaska boundary settled for all time to come, but the first Panama Canal treaty with Colombia was negotiated. The President's fight for reciprocity with Cuba was won, the army reorganization bill passed, a large increase made in the navy. These matters occupied the attention of Congress for the first three months of the year.

HUNTS DOWN POSTOFFICE FRAUDS

The sensational feature of the year was the investigation of frauds which had crept into the postoffice department and from small beginnings had grown into formidable proportions. This investigation was made by direction of President Roosevelt. It continued for several months and resulted in the indictment of a number of officials and the removal of others. Among those indicted were James N. Tyner, assistant attorney-general for the postoffice department, who was for several months postmaster-general under President Grant and who had been connected with the department since 1861. A. W. Machen, general superintendent of the free delivery system, was removed from office and indicted on fourteen counts. George W. Beavers, general superintendent of salaries and allowances, was removed and indicted on eight counts.

Other officials indicted were: J. T. Metcalf, superintendent of the money order system; Daniel V. Miller, assistant attorney; Louis Kempner, superintendent of the registry system; Charles Hedges, superintendent of the city free delivery service; and seven other minor officials, together with a num-

ber of contractors outside of the department. Some of these officials have been tried and convicted and others acquitted. Some are waiting trial. Under the vigorous policy of President Roosevelt dishonesty and incompetency were weeded out of the department and its administration placed above suspicion.

RECOGNIZES REPUBLIC OF PANAMA

The closing month of 1903 was an epoch-marking December for the United States, for in that month President Roosevelt, seizing the opportunity presented by the secession of Panama from Colombia, negotiated the treaty which finally after many decades of effort gave the United States the right to build and own the Panama Canal.

EXTRA SESSION FOR CUBAN RECIPROCITY

President Roosevelt won his fight for Cuban reciprocity in the closing months of 1903. The treaty negotiated by Tasker H. Bliss was ratified, with amendments by the Senate, March 29. The amendments provided for action by the House. The House was unable to reach the question before adjournment.

President Roosevelt summoned an extra session of Congress, which met November 9. Ten days later, November 19, the House passed the resolution ratifying the treaty by a vote of 385 to 21. The Senate passed the Reciprocity Bill December 16, and the treaty went into effect December 27, 1903. Time already has justified President Roosevelt's Cuban policy. The trade between the United States and Cuba is growing larger month by month.

One of the features of President Roosevelt's administration was his attack upon the proposed consolidation of two great competing transcontinental lines of railway, the North-

ern Pacific and the Great Northern, described in another chapter.

On February 10, 1904, upon the outbreak of war between Japan and Russia, the United States Government, through its Secretary of State, John Hay, issued a statement to the powers of the world defining the position of this country in the matter of the integrity of China. This statement will go down in history as the "Hay note." It was issued after our Secretary of State had obtained a number of preliminary exchanges of views between this government and the other governments interested in Chinese affairs and in keeping the commerce of that country open. The note, which was sent to Ambassador McCormick, our diplomatic representative at St. Petersburg, and Minister Griscom, our representative at Tokio, as well as to the other leading European powers, and to Pekin, China, follows:

THE FAMOUS HAY NOTE

"You will express to the minister for foreign affairs the earnest desire of the Government of the United States that in the course of the military operations which have begun between Russia and Japan the neutrality of China and in all practicable ways her administrative entity shall be respected by both parties, and that the area of hostilities shall be localized and limited as much as possible, so that undue excitement and disturbance of the Chinese people may be prevented and the least possible loss to the commerce and peaceful intercourse of the world may be occasioned.

"(Signed) John Hay."

At the same time this government informed all the powers signatory of the protocol at Pekin of its action, and requested similar action on their part.

A DIPLOMATIC TRIUMPH

In the above short note Secretary Hay added another to his long list of diplomatic triumphs, and the United States was once more enabled by his diplomacy to head the nations in a concurrent effort to preserve the integrity of China. Mr. Hay's note to Russia and Japan, urging them to confine hostilities within as small an area as possible and to respect the neutrality and administrative entity of China, was accepted by Russia as well as by Japan, and all the nations have joined the Washington Government in inviting the combatants to agree to the proposition.

CHAPTER XXI

BIOGRAPHY OF THE HON. CHARLES W. FAIRBANKS

Republican Nominee for Vice-President.

A son of Ohio, of Puritan ancestry, Charles Warren Fairbanks early attained prominence as a lawyer in Indianapolis, and has been a United States Senator since 1897. He secured his education by his own exertions, and had decided on the law as a profession before he entered college. Senator Fairbanks was born near Unionville Centre, Union County, Ohio, May 11, 1852. He is descended in the eighth generation from Jonathan Fayerbanks, who settled in Dedham, Massachusetts, in 1636. From the old Bay State the ancestors of Senator Fairbanks went to Vermont, and it was from that State that his father went to Ohio in 1836 and settled on a farm and also worked at wagonmaking.

EARLY LIFE

When the future Senator was a baby he was rocked in a sugar trough to which home-made rockers had been attached, and as he advanced in boyhood he was taught that what his hand found to do he must do with his might. His parents were earnest Methodists and encouraged his ambition to secure an education. He diligently attended the district school, and in the summer he worked on the farm and at his father's trade of wagonmaking. At the age of fifteen he left his home and, with forty-one dollars, which he had saved from what his father had paid him, in the pockets of his only suit of clothes, he went to Delaware, Ohio, and entered the

Ohio Wesleyan University. There he and his roommate boarded themselves, and young Fairbanks found employment with a carpenter on Saturdays by reason of his familiarity with the use of tools. He was also ready to do any work about the college which he could find to do, and in the summer vacations he worked in the harvest field at his home. In his senior year he was one of the editors of the college newspaper, "The Western Collegian." He was graduated with the degree of A.B. in 1872, and went to Pittsburg, where he began the study of law, at the same time supporting himself by doing newspaper work for The Associated Press. A year later he entered a law school in Cleveland, and did similar work. It was in 1874 that he was admitted to the bar at Columbus, Ohio.

HIS MARRIAGE

While in college he had met Miss Cornelia Cole, who was a co-editor with him on the college paper. In the same year that he was admitted to the bar they were married, and went to Indianapolis to make their permanent home. The young lawyer was aided in securing a practice by his uncle, the late William Henry Smith, who was interested in railroads, and he soon became one of the most successful railroad lawyers in the State. With increased income he became a resident of the most fashionable part of the city. His other uncle, Charles W. Smith, was engaged in so many railroad enterprises that he had much legal business for his nephew to attend to. Thus, even before 1874, when Mr. Fairbanks brought his newly wedded wife to Indianapolis, he was doing well in his profession.

FOUNDATION OF HIS FORTUNE

The railroad business in the Hoosier State was at that period in the most favorable condition for the activities of a young railroad lawyer. Then was begun a series of railroad mergers, and Senator Fairbanks had much to do with the business. He had many important clients and earned some very large fees. His remuneration for single cases is said to have been as much as $150,000, and it may be stated positively that he earned one fee of $100,000 in connection with the reorganization of the Cincinnati, Hamilton and Dayton. Thus was provided the foundation of his fortune, a fortune by no means so large as most people imagine.

HIS FINANCIAL INTERESTS

It is probable that Mr. Fairbanks is worth from $600,000 to $800,000. He is interested in the Spring Foundry Company, the Fairbanks Machine and Tool Company, has very profitable holdings in the Oliver Typewriter Works, a few building lots in Indianapolis, his modest frame dwelling in that city, some railroad shares, and a large farm in Pyatt County, near Bloomington, Ill. One of the big deals in which he was recently largely interested was the sale of the Cincinnati, Hamilton and Dayton to a syndicate headed by Frederick A. Prince, of Boston, which owned the Pere Marquette Railway. Mr. Fairbanks is a friend of Henry Shoemaker, who was president of the executive board of the Cincinnati, Hamilton and Dayton, and the two men had much to do with the arranging for the sale.

A CONSERVATIVE BUSINESS MAN

Mr. Fairbanks is, therefore, a safe, sane and conservative business man, for though his fortune does not reach the

million mark, he has had sufficient experience with large business enterprises to be in thorough sympathy with the commercial interests of the country, and to have their confidence.

A fair and conservative analysis of the strength of Senator Fairbanks may be given in the words of a well-informed Republican, who said: "Three-quarters of the older men are enthusiastic, and one-quarter of the younger men." A source of Mr. Fairbanks' strength is Mrs. Fairbanks, President-General of the Daughters of the American Revolution, a very gracious lady and quite as good a politician as her husband.

MRS. FAIRBANKS A DIPLOMAT

When they came to Indiana, Mrs. Fairbanks joined a number of clubs. Her husband has always been possessed of the old-fashioned idea that husband and wife should spend a great deal of their time together, and so there are no stag affairs given at the Fairbanks home in Washington. But though he will not entertain his male friends without their wives, Mr. Fairbanks has raised no objection to his wife's participation in affairs exclusively managed by women folk. Or, perhaps, it may have been that Mrs. Fairbanks had a great deal to say about it, for it is a fact that she is a woman strong-minded and given to having her way, at least outside of the family circle. She is a diplomat of very high order.

HIS WIFE'S ACHIEVEMENTS

The principal work which Mrs. Fairbanks has done aside from that of the Daughters of the American Revolution has been in connection with the junior republic located at Annapolis Junction. At this settlement young boys are trained in the work of men by sham battles of life in which

they have their own improvised currency. Mrs. Fairbanks is patroness of this movement, but there is a man at the head of it. Four years she has been President-General of the Daughters of the American Revolution, and she was largely responsible for the establishment of the new memorial hall which was recently dedicated in Washington. Her work has been mainly the selecting and marking of historic spots.

THE FAIRBANKS FAMILY

The younger element in the Fairbanks family is quite promising. There are four sons living, one of whom, Warren C., recently married Miss Ethel Cassidy, of Pittsburg, and is director of the Oliver Typewriter Works, in Chicago. The other three boys are still studying. Frederick C. graduated last year from Princeton, and since then engaged in a law course at Columbia University, Washington. Richard is a junior at Yale, and Robert a student at Phillips Andover Academy.

The only daughter, Miss Adelaide, is the eldest of the children. Only last September she became the bride of Ensign John W. Timmons, U.S.N., who hails from Chillicothe, O., and met Miss Fairbanks first at the Ohio Wesleyan.

The other member of the family circle of Senator Fairbanks is his mother, now nearly seventy-five years old, who spends the winter with her son's family in Washington and the rest of the year with her daughter, Mrs. M. L. Milligan, of Springfield, O. Mrs. Milligan is the Senator's only sister, and the wife of former Mayor M. L. Milligan, of Springfield, president of the Springfield Foundry Company and other manufacturing plants.

The Senator has also three brothers, W. D. Fairbanks, president of the First National Bank of Mansfield, Ill.;

Newton H., connected with the Springfield Foundry Company, and Luther M., a capitalist and real estate dealer in Mansfield, Ill. It is noticeable that all the men of the Fairbanks stock are well-to-do.

UNPRETENTIOUS HOME LIFE

It is a quiet life and modest one which the Fairbanks family leads in Indianapolis. Their two-story frame dwelling is an unpretentious structure, though pretty and comfortable, and as to the Senator's office in one of the ancient buildings here, it is not only unpretentious, but shabby. Besides a few careless scratches on the glass with some blunt steel instrument, the only sign upon the door is a simple and crudely painted "C. W. Fairbanks" in black letters about three inches high.

DINGY OFFICES

There are two rooms with uncarpeted floors, and the hallway approaching them leads to an elevator unmodern and slow-moving. It is not one of the places where you would look for the office of a United States Senator, and is not one-tenth as imposing nor one-fiftieth as comfortable as Mrs. Fairbanks' suite in the Washington Loan and Trust building in the Capital City, where she has more assistants than her husband needs in his law business, and where she handles the weighty affairs of the Daughters of the American Revolution.

When the Senator came to Indianapolis in 1874, the late Judge Walter Q. Gresham was on the Supreme Court bench. He was a sincere and useful friend of Senator Fairbanks, and in his position on the bench was able to throw a great deal of profitable business in the young man's way.

POLITICAL CAREER BEGINS

Later, when Judge Gresham's name went before the Republican convention in 1888, for the presidential nomination, Senator Fairbanks managed his candidacy. He came back to Indianapolis after the convention, after losing the Gresham fight, and went to work for the Republican candidate, Benjamin Harrison. Judge Gresham later became a Democrat, but Senator Fairbanks and he remained strong personal friends.

The judge and the Senator were both willing to concede the honesty of another man's views in regard to the tariff. The Senator had inherited from his father, whose Ohio sugar plantation was one of the stations in the underground railroad by which escaped slaves found their way to Canada, strong Republican prejudices, and his view of the tariff gave him equally strong Republican convictions. Having a taste for political life and for no other reason than the gratification of that taste, the Senator made political speeches. After he had attained independent means, not only his speeches but his campaign contributions were appreciated. He was once candidate for the Republican caucus nomination for Senator when the Legislature was Democratic. It had been suggested that he accept nomination for the Ohio Legislature before he left that State, yet he had never shown any ambition to hold a place of public trust or to have his name put on an election ballot. He is one of the few men who have stepped into the Senate from private life.

The foregoing are some of the striking facts about the Senator's career. More striking are the facts relating to his personality. His unusual height has been discussed in every town and hamlet where newspapers are read. His ready smile

is almost as famous. His suave manner and remarkable self-possession were matters of comment during the three days of the recent Republican convention.

But these are the externals. It may be stated that Senator Fairbanks' heart is in the right place, and fashioned according to approved style. But you cannot be sure of this after a first interview. You must know the Senator, or at least must have met him on a number of occasions. In the Senate he is popular, and that is a good recommendation for any man, however famous his personal attraction.

DIGNITY OF THOUGHT AND ACTION

What stands out all over Senator Fairbanks, so to speak, is his dignity. He is dignified not only in his courteous manner, but in his habit of thought.

The Republican politicians who endeavored to smoke him out at the Chicago convention made the discovery that Senator Fairbanks was under all conditions absolutely imperturbable. He is never afraid to meet any man and be questioned on any subject, though it is a fact that few men have more secrets than Senator Fairbanks. His closest friends often claim to know no more about the Senator's views than is known to the general public, and probably their claim is correct.

The Senator's forbears fought under Cromwell, came to New England with the original Puritans, helped found the town of Dedham, Massachusetts, and did not leave New England till the generation of the father of the present Senator, who emigrated to Ohio with the intention of engaging in his trade of wagon making, with a farming business on the side. The Senator's mother was of a family which emigrated to Ohio from New York, and was related to the

Smiths, of whose influence upon Senator Fairbanks this sketch has treated.

BURNS DOWN THE HOUSE

Many statesmen, like Fairbanks, began their lives in log cabins, but few of them enjoy the distinction of having set fire to their log cabins at the tender age of four. This Senator Fairbanks did, with no more serious result than the destruction of the rude domicile on his father's farm in Union County. He ignited some shavings and the wind and the law of combustion did the rest.

After receiving what learning he could from the country schools, Senator Fairbanks was sent to Ohio Wesleyan College. His parents were able to do this, for they had been thrifty, as had all the Fairbanks for generations. But he prepared many of his meals himself, being compelled by economy to forego the luxury of a cook.

Among the boys at college Fairbanks was considered a very serious fellow, and like all young men who take life seriously he was the butt of many college pranks. He was not a brilliant student, but was thorough, earnest and moderately successful in his class work. His strong will, inherited from Puritan ancestors, kept him seriously at his tasks, and helped to make him the idol of the particular co-ed for whose good opinion alone he might have struggled.

ORGANIZED INDIANA FOR McKINLEY

The first really significant work which Senator Fairbanks did in politics was in 1896, or rather shortly before the convention of that year, when he allied himself with his friend William McKinley, and organized Indiana for his

nomination. As temporary chairman of the St. Louis convention he made the keynote speech of the campaign, declaring that the party was unequivocally against the free coinage of silver. He was a prominent figure in the convention and had much to do with the determination of the party policies upon which the McKinley campaign was fought. "Sound money and protection" were largely the result of Senator Fairbanks' labors.

There were at that time two Democratic senators from Indiana, and a Democrat was the chief executive of the State. Mr. Fairbanks was the leader of the Republicans and came back from St. Louis with a political prestige which assisted him in securing the favor of his party for the senatorship. It was on the wave of Republicanism which that year tore the State out of the Democratic column that Senator Fairbanks was carried into the Senate.

THE MARTYRED PRESIDENT'S FRIEND

As the friend of William McKinley, Mr. Fairbanks was a big man in the Senate. The Republicans being restored to power, and important measures pending, he took a prominent part in the tariff and currency legislation. One of his widely circulated speeches was on the subject of immigration, in which he took great interest as chairman of the Immigration Committee. In the days and months just preceding the Spanish War nearly every twenty-four hours saw him at the White House in consultation with President McKinley.

WISE AT A CRITICAL TIME

It would be hard to give Senator Fairbanks too much credit for the part he took in the deliberations of the party leaders and of the Senate in that critical period. He was

calmly alert, and gave conservative and wise advice to a conservative and wise President. He counseled McKinley not to rush unprepared into a conflict, which, perhaps, might be avoided and all the ends accomplished without bloodshed.

After introducing in the Senate a resolution requesting the President to tender his good offices toward the securing of a cessation of hostilities in Cuba, and laboring toward that end until there was no longer hope of peace, the Indianian advocated vigorous prosecution of war.

It was through the initiative of Senator Fairbanks that the United States extended a helping hand to the stricken people of Martinique at the time that St. Pierre was destroyed in May of 1902. For this he was thanked by the French Governor. Mr. McKinley made him one of the commissioners on the United States and British Joint High Commission, which settled various matters of dispute, such as the proposed abrogation of the Rush-Bagot treaty of 1817.

CHAPTER XXII

LETTERS OF PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT

LETTER ON RACE SUICIDE

White House, Washington, October 18, 1902.

My Dear Mrs. Van Vorst: I must write you a line to say how much I have appreciated your article, The Woman who Toils. But to me there is a most melancholy side to it, when you touch upon what is fundamentally infinitely more important than any other question in this country—that is, the question of race suicide, complete or partial.

An easy, good-natured kindliness, and a desire to be "independent,"—that is, to live one's life purely according to one's desires—are in no sense substitutes for the fundamental virtues, for the practice of the strong racial qualities without which there can be no strong races—the qualities of courage and resolution in both men and women, of scorn of what is mean, base, and selfish, of eager desire to work or fight or suffer as the case may be, provided the end to be gained is great enough, and the contemptuous putting aside of mere ease, mere vapid pleasure, mere avoidance of toil and worry. I do not know whether I most pity or despise the foolish and selfish man or woman who does not understand that the only things really worth having in life are those the acquirement of which normally means cost and effort. If a man or woman, through no fault of his or hers, goes throughout life denied those highest of all joys which spring only from home life, from the having and bringing up of many healthy children, I

feel for them deep and respectful sympathy—the sympathy one extends to the gallant fellow killed at the beginning of a campaign, or to the man who toils hard and is brought to ruin by the fault of others. But the man or woman who deliberately avoids marriage and has a heart so cold as to know no passion and a brain so shallow and selfish as to dislike having children, is in effect a criminal against the race and should be an object of contemptuous abhorrence by all healthy people.

Of course no one quality makes a good citizen, and no one quality will save a nation. But there are certain great qualities for the lack of which no amount of intellectual brilliancy or of material prosperity or of easiness of life can atone, and the lack of which shows decadence and corruption in the nation, just as much if they are produced by selfishness and coldness and ease-loving laziness among comparatively poor people as if they are produced by vicious or frivolous luxury in the rich. If the men of the nation are not anxious to work in many different ways, with all their might and strength, and ready and able to fight at need, and anxious to be fathers of families, and if the women do not recognize that the greatest thing for any woman is to be a good wife and mother, why, that nation has cause to be alarmed about its future.

There is no physical trouble among us Americans. The trouble with the situation you set forth is one of character, and therefore we can conquer it if we only will.

Very sincerely yours, THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Mrs. Bessie Van Vorst,
Philadelphia, Pa.
(Personal)

LETTER REGARDING DR. CRUM'S APPOINTMENT

White House, November 26, 1902.

My Dear Sir: I am in receipt of your letter of November 10th and of one from Mr. —— under date of November 11th, in reference to the appointment of Dr. Crum as Collector of the Port of Charleston. In your letter you make certain specific charges against Dr. Crum, tending to show his unfitness in several respects for the office sought. These charges are entitled to the utmost consideration from me, and I shall go over them carefully before taking any action. After making these charges you add, as a further reason for opposition to him, that he is a colored man, and after reciting the misdeeds that followed carpet-bag rule and negro domination in South Carolina, you say that "we have sworn never again to submit to the rule of the African, and such an appointment as that of Dr. Crum to any such office forces us to protest unanimously against this insult to the white blood"; and you add that you understood me to say that I would never force a negro on such a community as yours. Mr. —— puts the objection of color first, saying: "First, he is a colored man, and that of itself ought to bar him from the office." In view of these last statements, I think I ought to make clear to you why I am concerned and pained by your making them and what my attitude is as regards all such appointments. How any could have gained the idea that I had said I would not appoint reputable colored men to office, when objection was made to them solely on account of their color, I confess I am wholly unable to understand. At the time of my visit to Charleston last spring I had made, and since that time I have made, a number of appointments from several States in which there is a considerable colored population. For example, I

made one such appointment in Mississippi and another in Alabama, shortly before my visit to Charleston. I had at that time appointed two colored men as judicial magistrates in the District of Columbia. I have recently announced another such appointment for New Orleans, and have just made one from Pennsylvania. The great majority of my appointments in every State have been of white men. North and South alike it has been my sedulous endeavor to appoint only men of high character and good capacity, whether white or black. But it has been my consistent policy in every State where their numbers warranted it to recognize colored men of good repute and standing in making appointments to office. These appointments of colored men have in no State made more than a small proportion of the total number of appointments. I am unable to see how I can legitimately be asked to make an exception for South Carolina. In South Carolina, to the four most important positions in the State I have appointed three men and continued in office a fourth, all of them white men—three of them originally gold Democrats—two of them, as I am informed, the sons of Confederate soldiers. I have been informed by the citizens of Charleston whom I have met that these four men represent a high grade of public service.

I do not intend to appoint any unfit men to office. So far as I legitimately can I shall always endeavor to pay regard to the wishes and feelings of the people of each locality; but I cannot consent to take the position that the door of hope—the door of opportunity—is to be shut upon any man, no matter how worthy, purely upon the grounds of race or color. Such an attitude would, according to my convictions, be fundamentally wrong. If, as you hold, the great bulk of the colored

people are not yet fit in point of character and influence to hold such positions, it seems to me that it is worth while putting a premium upon the effort among them to achieve the character and standing which will fit them.

The question of "negro domination" does not enter into the matter at all. It might as well be asserted that when I was Governor of New York, I sought to bring about negro domination in that State because I appointed two colored men of good character and standing to responsible positions—one of them to a position paying a salary twice as large as that paid in the office now under consideration—one of them as a director of the Buffalo Exposition. The question raised by you and Mr. —— in the statements to which I refer, is simply whether it is to be declared that under no circumstances shall any man of color, no matter how upright and honest, no matter how good a citizen, no matter how fair in his dealings with his fellows, be permitted to hold any office under our government. I certainly cannot assume such an attitude, and you must permit me to say that in my view it is an attitude no man should assume, whether he looks at it from the standpoint of the true interest of the white men of the South or of the colored men of the South, not to speak of any other section of the Union. It seems to me that it is a good thing from every standpoint to let the colored man know that if he shows in marked degree the qualities of good citizenship —the qualities which in a white man we feel are entitled to reward—then he will not be cut off from all hope of similar reward.

Without any regard to what my decision may be on the merits of this particular applicant for this particular place, I feel that I ought to let you know clearly my attitude on the

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far broader question raised by you and Mr. ——; an attitude from which I have not varied during my term of office.

Faithfully yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Hon. ———,

Charleston, S. C.

FEDERAL APPOINTMENTS IN THE SOUTH

White House, Washington, February 24, 1903.

My Dear Mr. Howell: I have a high opinion of the gentleman you mention, and if the opportunity occurs I shall be glad to do anything for him.

Now as to what you say concerning Federal appointments in the South. Frankly, it seems to me that my appointments speak for themselves and that my policy is self-explanatory. So far from feeling that they need the slightest apology or justification, my position is that on the strength of what I have done I have the right to claim the support of all good citizens who wish not only a high standard of Federal service, but fair and equitable dealing to the South as well as to the North, and a policy of consistent justice and good-will toward all men. In making appointments I have sought to consider the feelings of the people of each locality so far as I could consistently do so without sacrificing principle. The prime tests I have applied have been those of character, fitness and ability, and when I have been dissatisfied with what has been offered within my own party lines I have without hesitation gone to the opposite party—and you are of course aware that I have repeatedly done this in your own State of Georgia. I certainly cannot treat mere color as a permanent bar to holding office, any more than I could so treat creed or birthplace—always provided that in other respects the applicant or

incumbent is a worthy and well-behaved American citizen. Just as little will I treat it as conferring a right to hold office. I have scant sympathy with the mere doctrinaire, with the man of mere theory who refuses to face facts; but do you not think that in the long run it is safer for everybody if we act on the motto "All men up," rather than that of "Some men down"?

I ask you to judge not by what I say but by what during the last seventeen months I have actually done. In your own State of Georgia you are competent to judge from your own experience. In the great bulk of cases I have reappointed President McKinley's appointees. The changes I have made, such as that in the postmastership at Athens and in the surveyorship at Atlanta, were, as I think you will agree, changes for the better and not for the worse. It happens that in each of these offices I have appointed a white man to succeed a colored man. In South Carolina I have similarly appointed a white postmaster to succeed a colored postmaster. Again, in South Carolina I have nominated a colored man to fill a vacancy in the position of collector of the port of Charleston, just as in Georgia I have reappointed the colored man who is now serving as collector of the port of Savannah. Both are fit men. Why the appointment of one should cause any more excitement than the appointment of the other, I am wholly at a loss to imagine. As I am writing to a man of keen and trained intelligence I need hardly say that to connect either of these appointments, or any or all my other appointments, or my actions in upholding the law at Indianola with such questions as "social equality" and "negro domination" is as absurd as to connect them with the nebular hypothesis or the theory of atoms.

I have consulted freely with your own senators and congressmen as to the character and capacity of any appointee in Georgia concerning whom there was question. My party advisers in the State have been Major Hanson of Macon, Mr. Walter Johnson of Atlanta—both of them ex-Confederate soldiers—and Mr. Harry Stillwell Edwards, also of Macon. I believe you will agree with me that in no State would it be possible to find gentlemen abler and more upright or better qualified to fill the positions they have filled with reference to me. In every instance where these gentlemen have united in making a recommendation I have been able to follow their advice. Am I not right in saying that the Federal office-holders whom I have appointed throughout your State are, as a body, men and women of a high order of efficiency and integrity? If you know of any Federal office-holder in Georgia of whom this is not true, pray let me know it at once. I will welcome testimony from you or from any other reputable citizen which will tend to show that a given public officer is unworthy; and, most emphatically, short will be the shrift of any one else whose lack of worth is proven. Incidentally I may mention that a large percentage of the incumbents of Federal offices in Georgia under me are, as I understand it, of your own political faith. But they are supported by me in every way as long as they continue to render good and faithful service to the public.

This is true of your own State; and by applying to Mr. Thomas Nelson Page of Virginia, to General Basil Duke of Kentucky, to Mr. George Crawford of Tennessee, to Mr. John McIlhenny of Louisiana, to Judge Jones of Alabama, and to Mr. Edgar L. Wilson of Mississippi, all of them Democrats and all of them men of the highest standing in

their respective communities, you will find that what I have done in Georgia stands not as the exception but as the rule for what I have done throughout the South. I have good reason to believe that my appointees in the different States mentioned—and as the sum of the parts is the whole, necessarily in the South at large—represent not merely an improvement upon those whose places they took, but, upon the whole, a higher standard of Federal service than has hitherto been attained in the communities in question. I may add that the proportion of colored men among these new appointees is only about one in a hundred. In view of all these facts I have been surprised, and somewhat pained, at what seems to me the incomprehensible outcry in the South about my actions—an outcry apparently started in New York for reasons wholly unconnected with the question nominally at issue. I am concerned at the attitude thus taken by so many of the Southern people; but I am not in the least angry; and still less will this attitude have the effect of making me swerve one hair's breadth, to one side or the other, from the course I have marked out—the course I have conscientiously followed in the past and shall consistently follow in the future. With regard,

Sincerely yours,
THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Hon. Clark Howell,
Editor, The Constitution, Atlanta, Ga.

LABOR UNIONS AND THE PUBLIC SERVICE

On May 18, 1903, William A. Miller was removed by the Public Printer from his position of assistant foreman at the Government printing office. Mr. Miller filed a complaint

with the Civil Service Commission, alleging that his removal had been in violation of the civil service law and rules. After an investigation of the complaint and upon July 6th, the Civil Service Commission advised the Public Printer of its decision as follows:

Section 2 of Civil Service Rule XII, governing removals, provides that no person shall be removed from a competitive position except for such cause as will promote the efficiency of the public service. The commission does not consider expulsion from a labor union, being the action of a body in no way connected with the public service nor having authority over public employees, to be such a cause as will promote the efficiency of the public service.

As the only reason given by you for your removal of Mr. Miller is that he was expelled from Local Union No. 4, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders, you are advised that the commission cannot recognize his removal and must request that he be reassigned to duty in his position.

Mr. Miller's complaint had also been filed with the President, under whose direction it was being investigated by the Secretary of Commerce and Labor simultaneously with the investigation by the Civil Service Commission. As a result of such investigations, the following letters, under dates of July 13 and 14, 1903, were written by the President:

REINSTATEMENT OF MR. MILLER

Oyster Bay, N. Y., July 13, 1903.

My Dear Secretary Cortelyou: In accordance with the letter of the Civil Service Commission of July 6th, the Public Printer will reinstate Mr. W. A. Miller in his position. Meanwhile I will withhold my final decision of the whole case until I have received the report of the investigation on Miller's second communication, which you notify me has been begun to-day, July 13th.

On the face of the papers presented, Miller would appear

to have been removed in violation of law. There is no objection to the employees of the Government Printing Office constituting themselves into a union if they so desire; but no rules or resolutions of that union can be permitted to override the laws of the United States, which it is my sworn duty to enforce.

Please communicate a copy of this letter to the Public Printer for his information and that of his subordinates.

Very truly yours,
THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Hon. George B. Cortelyou,
Secretary of Commerce and Labor.

AWARD AND JUDGMENT OF COAL COMMISSION

Oyster Bay, N. Y., July 14, 1903.

My Dear Mr. Cortelyou: In connection with my letter of yesterday I call attention to this judgment and award by the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission in its report to me of March 8th last:

> It is adjudged and awarded that no person shall be refused employment or in any way discriminated against on account of membership or non-membership in any labor organization, and there shall be no discrimination against or interference with any employee who is not a member of any labor organization by members of such organization.

I heartily approve of this award and judgment by the Commission appointed by me, which itself included a member of a labor union. This commission was dealing with labor organizations working for private employers. It is of course mere elementary decency to require that all the Government departments shall be handled in accordance with the principles thus clearly and fearlessly enunciated.

Please furnish a copy of this letter both to Mr. Palmer and to the Civil Service Commission for their guidance.

Sincerely yours,
THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Hon. Geo. B. Cortelyou,
Secretary of Commerce and Labor.

STATEMENT TO AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

September 29, 1903.

Pursuant to the request of Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, the President granted an interview this evening to the following members of the Executive Council of that body: Mr. Samuel Gompers, Mr. James Duncan, Mr. John Mitchell, Mr. James O'Connell, and Mr. Frank Morrison, at which various subjects of legislation in the interest of labor, as well as executive action, were discussed. Concerning the case of William A. Miller the President made the following statement:

"I thank you and your committee for your courtesy, and I appreciate the opportunity to meet with you. It will always be a pleasure to see you or any representatives of your organizations or of your Federation as a whole.

"As regards the Miller case, I have little to add to what I have already said. In dealing with it I ask you to remember that I am dealing purely with the relation of the Government to its employees. I must govern my action by the laws of the land, which I am sworn to administer, and which differentiate any case in which the Government of the United States is a party from all other cases whatsoever. These laws are enacted for the benefit of the whole people, and cannot and must not be construed as permitting discrimination

against some of the people. I am President of all the people of the United States, without regard to creed, color, birthplace, occupation, or social condition. My aim is to do equal and exact justice as among them all. In the employment and dismissal of men in the Government service I can no more recognize the fact that a man does or does not belong to a union as being for or against him than I can recognize the fact that he is a Protestant or a Catholic, a Jew or a Gentile, as being for or against him.

"In the communications sent me by various labor organizations protesting against the retention of Miller in the Government Printing Office, the grounds alleged are twofold: 1, that he is a non-union man; 2, that he is not personally fit. The question of his personal fitness is the one to be settled in the routine of administrative detail, and cannot be allowed to conflict with or complicate the larger question of governmental discrimination for or against him or any other man because he is not a member of a union. This is the only question now before me for decision; and as to this my decision is final."

LETTER ON THE SUBJECT OF LYNCH LAW

Oyster Bay, N. Y., August 6, 1903.

My Dear Governor Durbin: Permit me to thank you as an American citizen for the admirable way in which you have vindicated the majesty of the law by your recent action in reference to lynching. I feel, my dear sir, that you have made all men your debtors who believe, as all far-seeing men must, that the well-being, indeed the very existence, of the Republic depends upon that spirit of orderly liberty under the law which is incompatible with mob violence as with any form of despotism. Of course mob violence is simply one form of

anarchy; and anarchy is now, as it always has been, the handmaiden and forerunner of tyranny.

I feel that you have not only reflected honor upon the State which for its good fortune has you as its Chief Executive, but upon the whole nation. It is incumbent upon every man throughout this country not only to hold up your hands in the course you have been following, but to show his realization that the matter is one which is of vital concern to us all.

All thoughtful men must feel the gravest alarm over the growth of lynching in this country, and especially over the peculiarly hideous forms so often taken by mob violence when colored men are the victims—on which occasions the mob seems to lay most weight, not on the crime, but on the color of the criminal. In a certain proportion of these cases the man lynched has been guilty of a crime horrible beyond description; a crime so horrible that as far as he himself is concerned he has forfeited the right to any kind of sympathy whatsoever. The feeling of all good citizens that such a hideous crime shall not be hideously punished by mob violence is due not in the least to sympathy for the criminal, but to a very lively sense of the train of dreadful consequences which follows the course taken by the mob in exacting inhuman vengeance for an inhuman wrong. In such cases, moreover, it is well to remember that the criminal not merely sins against humanity in inexpiable and unpardonable fashion, but sins particularly against his own race, and does them a wrong far greater than any white man can possibly do them. Therefore, in such cases the colored people throughout the land should in every possible way show their belief that they, more than all others in the country, are horrified at the commission of such a crime and are peculiarly

concerned in taking every possible measure to prevent its recurrence and to bring the criminal to immediate justice. The slightest lack of vigor either in denunciation of the crime or in bringing the criminal to justice is itself unpardonable.

Moreover, every effort should be made under the law to expedite the proceedings of justice in the case of such an awful crime. But it cannot be necessary in order to accomplish this to deprive any citizen of those fundamental rights to be heard in his own defense which are so dear to us all and which lie at the root of our liberty. It certainly ought to be possible by the proper administration of the laws to secure swift vengeance upon the criminal; and the best and immediate efforts of all legislators, judges and citizens should be addressed to securing such reforms in our legal procedure as to leave no vestige of excuse for those misguided men who undertake to reap vengeance through violent methods.

Men who have been guilty of a crime like rape or murder should be visited with swift and certain punishment, and the just effort made by the courts to protect them in their rights should under no circumstances be perverted into permitting any mere technicality to avert or delay their punishment. The substantial rights of the prisoner to a fair trial must of course be guaranteed, as you have so justly insisted that they should be; but, subject to this guarantee, the law must work swiftly and surely and all the agents of the law should realize the wrong they do when they permit justice to be delayed or thwarted for technical or insufficient reasons. We must show that the law is adequate to deal with crime by freeing it from every vestige of technicality and delay. . . .

Very sincerely yours, THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

CHAPTER XXIII

SPEECHES OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT

President Roosevelt's Speech of Acceptance

Mr. Speaker and Gentlemen of the Notification Committee. I am deeply sensible of the high honor conferred upon me by the representatives of the Republican party assembled in convention, and I accept the nomination for the presidency with solemn realization of the obligations I assume. I heartily approve the declaration of principles which the Republican national convention has adopted, and at some future day I shall communicate to you, Mr. Chairman, more at length and in detail a formal written acceptance of the nomination.

Three years ago I became president because of the death of my lamented predecessor. I then stated that it was my purpose to carry out his principles and policies for the honor and interest of the country. To the best of my ability I have kept the promise thus made. If next November my countrymen confirm at the polls the action of the convention you represent, I shall, under Providence, continue to work with an eye single to the welfare of all our people.

LAUDS RECORD OF PARTY

A party is of worth only in so far as it promotes the national interest, and every official, high or low, can serve his party best by rendering to the people the best service of which he is capable. Effective government comes only as the result of the loyal coöperation of many different persons. The members of a legislative majority, the officers in the various departments of the administration, and the legislative and executive branches as toward each other, must work together with subordination of self to the common end of successful government. We who have been entrusted with power as public servants during the past seven years of administration and legislation now come before the people content to be judged by our record of achievement. In the years that have gone by we have made the deed square with the word; and if we are continued in power we shall unswervingly follow out the great lines of public policy which the Republican party has already laid down; a public policy to which we are giving, and shall give, a united, and therefore an efficient, support.

In all of this we are more fortunate than our opponents, who now appeal for

confidence on the ground, which some express and some seek to have confidentially understood, that if triumphant they may be trusted to prove false to every principle which in the last eight years they have laid down as vital, and to leave undisturbed those very acts of the administration because of which they ask that the administration itself be driven from power. Seemingly their present attitude as to their past record is that some of them were mistaken and others insincere. We make our appeal in a wholly different spirit. We are not constrained to keep silent on any vital question; we are divided on no vital question; our policy is continuous, and is the same for all sections and localities. There is nothing experimental about the government we ask the people to continue in power, for our performance in the past, our proved governmental efficiency, is a guarantee as to our promises for the future. Our opponents, either openly or secretly, according to their several temperaments, now ask the people to trust their present promises in consideration of the fact that they intend to treat their past promises as null and void. We know our own minds and we have kept of the same mind for a sufficient length of time to give to our policy coherence and sanity.

POINTS TO TRUST CASES

In such a fundamental matter as the enforcement of the law we do not have to depend upon promises, but merely to ask that our record be taken as an earnest of what we shall continue to do. In dealing with the great organizations known as trusts we do not have to explain why the laws were not enforced, but to point out that they actually have been enforced and that legislation has been enacted to increase the effectiveness of their enforcement. We do not have to propose to "turn the rascals out," for we have shown in very deed that whenever by diligent investigation a public official can be found who has betrayed his trust he will be punished to the full extent of the law without regard to whether he was appointed under a Republican or a Democratic administration. This is the efficient way to turn the rascals out and to keep them out, and it has the merit of sincerity. Moreover, the betrayals of trust in the last seven years have been insignificant in number when compared with the extent of the public service. Never has the administration of the government been on a cleaner and higher level; never has the public work of the nation been done more honestly and efficiently.

Assuredly it is unwise to change the policies which have worked so well and which are now working so well. Prosperity has come at home. The national honor and interest have been upheld abroad. We have placed the finances of the nation upon a sound gold basis. We have done this with the aid of many who were formerly our opponents, but who would neither openly support nor silently acquiesce in the heresy of unsound finance; and we have done it against the convinced and violent

opposition of the mass of our present opponents, who still refuse to recant the unsound opinions which for the moment they think it inexpedient to assert. We know what we mean when we speak of an honest and stable currency. We mean the same thing from year to year. We do not have to avoid a definite and conclusive committal on the most important issue which has recently been before the people, and which may at any time in the near future be before them again. Upon the principles which underlie this issue the convictions of half our number do not clash with those of the other half. So long as the Republican party is in power the gold standard is settled, not as a matter of temporary political expediency, not because of shifting conditions in the production of gold in certain mining centers, but in accordance with what we regard as the fundamental principles of national morality and wisdom.

CIRCULATION AMPLE

Under the financial legislation which we have enacted there is now ample circulation for every business need; and every dollar of this circulation is worth a dollar in gold. We have reduced the interest-bearing debt and in still larger measure the interest on that debt. All of the war taxes imposed during the Spanish War have been removed, with a view to relieve the people and to prevent the accumulation of an unnecessary surplus. The result is that hardly ever before have the expenditures and income of the government so closely corresponded. In the fiscal year that has just closed the excess of income over the ordinary expenditures was nine millions of dollars. This does not take account of the fifty millions expended out of the accumulated surplus for the purchase of the Isthmian Canal. It is an extraordinary proof of the sound financial condition of the nation that instead of following the usual course in such matters and throwing the burden upon posterity by an issue of bonds, we were able to make the payment outright and yet after it to have in the treasury a surplus of one hundred and sixty-one millions. Moreover, we were able to pay this fifty millions of dollars out of hand without causing the slightest disturbance to business conditions.

We have enacted a tariff law under which during the past few years the country has attained a height of material well-being never before reached. Wages are higher than ever before. That whenever the need arises there should be a readjustment of the tariff schedules is undoubted; but such changes can with safety be made only by those whose devotion to the principle of a protective tariff is beyond question; for otherwise the changes would amount not to readjustment but to repeal. The readjustment when made must maintain and not destroy the protective principle. To the farmer, the merchant, the manufacturer this is vital; but perhaps no other man is so much interested as the wage-worker in the maintenance of our present economic system, both as regards the finances and the tariff. The standard of living of

our wage-workers is higher than that of any other country, and it cannot so remain unless we have a protective tariff which shall always keep as a minimum a rate of duty sufficient to cover the difference between the labor cost here and abroad.

UPHOLDS PRESENT TARIFF

Those who, like our opponents, "denounce protection as a robbery" thereby explicitly commit themselves to the proposition that if they were to revise the tariff no heed would be paid to the necessity of meeting this difference between the standards of living for wage-workers here and in other countries; and therefore on this point their antagonism to our position is fundamental. Here again we ask that their promises and ours be judged by what has been done in the immediate past. We ask that sober and sensible men compare the workings of the present tariff law and the conditions which obtain under it, with the workings of the preceding tariff law of 1894 and the conditions which that tariff of 1894 helped to bring about.

We believe in reciprocity with foreign nations on the terms outlined in President McKinley's last speech, which urged the extension of our foreign markets by reciprocal agreement whenever they could be made without injury to American industry and labor. It is a singular fact that the only great reciprocity treaty recently adopted—that with Cuba—was finally opposed almost alone by the representatives of the very party which now states that it favors reciprocity. And here again we ask that the worth of our words be judged by comparing their deeds with ours. On this Cuban reciprocity treaty there were at the outset grave differences of opinion among ourselves, and the notable thing in the negotiation and ratification of the treaty and in the legislation which carried it into effect was the highly practical manner in which without sacrifice of principle these differences of opinion were reconciled. There was no rupture of a great party, but an excellent practical outcome, the result of the harmonious coöperation of two successive presidents and two successive Congresses. This is an illustration of the governing capacity which entitles us to the confidence of the people, not only in our purposes but in our practical ability to achieve those purposes. Judging by the history of the last twelve years, down to this very month, is there justification for believing that under similar circumstances and with similar initial differences of opinion, our opponents would have achieved any practical results?

JUSTICE TO ALL MEN

We have already shown in actual fact that our policy is to do fair and equal justice to all men, paying no heed to whether a man is rich or poor, paying no heed to his race, his creed or his birthplace.

We recognize the organization of capital and the organization of labor as natural outcomes of our industrial system. Each kind of organization is to be favored so

long as it acts in a spirit of justice and of regard for the rights of others. Each is to be granted the full protection of the law and each in turn is to be held to a strict obedience to the law, for no man is above it and no man below it. The humblest individual is to have his rights safeguarded as scrupulously as those of the strongest organization, for each is to receive justice, no more and no less. The problems with which we have to deal in our modern industrial and social life are manifold, but the spirit in which it is necessary to approach their solution is simply the spirit of honesty, of courage and of common sense.

In inaugurating the great work of irrigation in the West the administration has been enabled by Congress to take one of the longest strides ever taken under our government toward utilizing our vast national domain for the settler, the actual home-maker.

CANAL OBTAINED IN HONOR

Ever since this continent was discovered the need of an isthmian canal to connect the Pacific and the Atlantic has been recognized; and ever since the birth of our nation such a canal has been planned. At last the dream has become a reality. The isthmian canal is now being built by the government of the United States. We conducted the negotiations for its construction with the nicest and most scrupulous honor, and in a spirit of the largest generosity toward those through whose territory it was to run. Every sinister effort which could be devised by the spirit of faction or the spirit of self-interest was made in order to defeat the treaty with Panama and thereby prevent the consummation of this work. The construction of the canal is now an assured fact; but most certainly it is unwise to intrust the carrying out of so momentous a policy to those who have endeavored to defeat the whole undertaking.

Our foreign policy has been so conducted that, while not one of our just claims has been sacrificed, our relations with all foreign nations are now of the most peaceful kind; there is not a cloud on the horizon. The last cause of irritation between us and any other nation was removed by the settlement of the Alaskan boundary.

In the Caribbean Sea we have made good our promises of independence to Cuba and have proved our assertion that our mission in the island was one of justice and not of self-aggrandizement, and thereby no less than by our action in Venezuela and Panama we have shown that the Monroe Doctrine is a living reality, designed for the hurt of no nation, but for the protection of civilization on the western continent and for the peace of the world. Our steady growth in power has gone hand in hand with a strengthening disposition to use this power with strict regard for the rights of others and for the cause of international justice and good will.

We earnestly desire friendship with all the nations of the New and Old Worlds; and we endeavor to place our relations with them upon a basis of reciprocal advantage instead of hostility. We hold that the prosperity of each nation is an aid and

not a hindrance to the prosperity of other nations. We seek international amity for the same reasons that make us believe in peace within our own borders; and we seek this peace not because we are afraid or unready, but because we think that peace is right as well as advantageous.

American interests in the Pacific have rapidy grown. American enterprise has laid a cable across this, the greatest of oceans. We have proved in effective fashion that we wish the Chinese Empire well and desire its integrity and independence.

Our foothold in the Philippines greatly strengthens our position in the competition for the trade of the East; but we are governing the Philippines in the interest of the Philippine people themselves. We have already given them a large share in their government, and our purpose is to increase this share as rapidly as they give evidence of increasing fitness for the task. The great majority of the officials of the islands, whether elective or appointive, are already native Filipinos. We are now providing for a legislative assembly. This is the first step to be taken in the future; and it would be eminently unwise to declare what our next step will be until this first step has been taken and the results are manifest. To have gone faster than we have already gone in giving the islanders a constantly increasing measure of self-government would have been disastrous. At the present moment, to give political independence to the islands would result in the immediate loss of civil rights, personal liberty and public order, as regards the mass of the Filipinos, for the majority of the islanders have been given these great boons by us, and only keep them because we vigilantly safeguard and guarantee them. To withdraw our government from the islands at this time would mean to the average native the loss of his barely won civil freedom. We have established in the islands a government by Americans assisted by Filipinos. We are steadily striving to transform this into self-government by the Filipinos assisted by Americans.

NO DUTY SHIRKED

The principles which we uphold should appeal to all our countrymen in all portions of our country. Above all they should give us strength with the men and women who are the spiritual heirs of those who upheld the hands of Abraham Lincoln, for we are striving to do our work in the spirit with which Lincoln approached his. During the seven years that have just passed there is no duty, domestic or foreign, which we have shirked; no necessary task which we have feared to undertake, or which we have not performed with reasonable efficiency. We have never pleaded impotence. We have never sought refuge in criticism and complaint instead of action. We face the future with our past and our present as guarantors of our promises, and we are content to stand or fall by the record which we have made and are making.

CHAUNCEY MITCHELL DEPEW

UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM NEW YORK

WILLIAM McKINLEY.

ADDRESS TO THE BROTHERHOOD OF LOCOMOTIVE FIREMEN

Chattanooga, Tenn., September 8, 1902

Mr. Grand Master, Governor McMillin, Mr. Mayor, my Brothers, Men and Women of Tennessee, my Fellow-Citizens: I am glad to be here to-day. I am glad to come as the guest of the Brotherhood. Let me join with you, the members of the Brotherhood of this country, in extending a most cordial welcome to our fellows from Canada and Mexico. The fact that we are good Americans only makes us all the better men, all the more desirous of seeing good fortune to all mankind. I needed no pressing to accept the invitation tendered through you, Mr. Hannahan, and through Mr. Arnold, to come to this meeting. I have always admired greatly the railroad men of the country, and I do not see how any one who believes in what I regard as the fundamental virtues of citizenship can fail to do so. I want to see the average American a good man, an honest man, and a man who can handle himself, and does handle himself well under difficulties. The last time I ever saw General Sherman, I dined at his house, and we got to talking over the capacity of different types of soldiers, and the General happened to say that if there were ever another war, and he were to have a command, he should endeavor to get as many railway men as possible under him. I asked him why, and he said, "Because on account of their profession they have developed certain qualities which are essential in a soldier." In the first place they are accustomed to taking risks. There are a great many men who are naturally brave, but, who, are entirely unaccustomed to enduring hardship; they are accustomed to irregular hours; they are accustomed to act on their own responsibility, on their own initiative, and yet they are accustomed to obeying orders quick. There is not anything more soul-harrowing for a man in time of war, or for a man engaged in a difficult job in time of peace, than to give an order and have the gentleman addressed say, "What?" The railroad man has to learn that when an order is issued there may be but a fraction of a second in which to obey it. He has to learn that orders are to be obeyed, and on the other hand, that there will come plenty of crises in which there will be no orders to be obeyed, and he will have to act for himself.

THE REQUISITES OF A SOLDIER

Those are all qualities that go to the very essence of good soldiership, and I am not surprised at what General Sherman said. In raising my own regiment, which was raised mainly in the Southwest, partly in the Territory in which Mr. Sargent himself served as a soldier at one time—in Arizona—I got a number of railroad men. Of course, the first requisite was that a man should know how to shoot and how to ride. We were raising the regiment in a hurry, and we did not have time to teach him, either. He had to know how to handle a horse and how

to handle a rifle, to start with. But given the possession of those two qualities, I found that there was no group of our citizens from whom better men could be drawn to a soldier's work in a tight place and at all times than the railroad men.

But, gentlemen, the period of war is but a fractional part of the life of our republic, and I earnestly hope and believe that it will be an even smaller part in the future than it has been in the past. It was the work that you have done in time of peace that especially attracted me to you, not for what I can tell you, but for the lesson it seems to me can be gained by all our people from what you have done.

I BELIEVE IN ORGANIZED LABOR

At the opening of the twentieth century we face conditions vastly changed from what they were in this country and throughout the world a century ago. Our complex industrial civilization, under which progress has been so rapid, and under which the changes for good have been so great, has also inevitably seen the growth of certain tendencies that are not for good, or at least that are not wholly for good; and we in consequence, as a people, like the rest of civilized mankind, find set before us for solution during the coming century problems which need the best thought of all of us, and the most earnest desire of all to solve them well if we expect to work out a solution satisfactory to our people, a solution for the advantage of the nation. In facing these problems, it must be a comfort to every well-wisher of the nation to see what has been done by your organization. I believe emphatically in organized labor. I believe in organizations of wage-workers. Organization is one of the laws of our social and economic development at this time. But I feel that we must always keep before our minds the fact that there is nothing sacred in the name itself. To call an organization an organization does not make it a good one. The worth of an organization depends upon its being handled with the courage, the skill, the wisdom, the spirit of fair dealing as between man and man, and the wise self-restraint which, I am glad to be able to say, your Brotherhood has shown. You now number close upon 44,000 members. During the two years ending June 30th last you paid in to the general and beneficiary funds close upon a million and a half dollars. More than six and one-half millions have been paid in since the starting of the insurance clause in the constitution—have been paid to disabled members and their beneficiaries. Over fifty per cent of the amount paid was paid on account of accidents. Gentlemen, that is a sufficient commentary upon the kind of profession which is yours. You face death and danger in time of peace, as in time of war the men wearing Uncle Sam's uniform must face them.

Your work is hard. Do you suppose I mention that because I pity you? No; not a bit. I don't pity any man who does hard work worth doing. I admire him. I pity the creature who doesn't work, at whichever end of the social scale he may

regard himself as being. The law of worthy work well done is the law of successful American life. I believe in play, too—play, and play hard while you play; but don't make the mistake of thinking that that is the main thing. The work is what counts, and if a man does his work well and it is worth doing, then it matters but little in which line that work is done; the man is a good American citizen. If he does his work in slipshod fashion, then no matter what kind of work it is, he is a poor American citizen.

I speak to the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, but what I say applies to all railroad men—not only to the engineers who have served an apprenticeship as firemen, to the conductors, who, as a rule, have served an apprenticeship as brakemen, but to all the men of all the organizations connected with railroad work. I know you do not grudge my saying that, through you, I am talking to all the railroad men of the country. You, in your organization as railroad men, have taught two lessons: the lesson of how much can be accomplished by organization, by mutual self-help of the type that helps another in the only way by which, in the long run, a man who is a full-grown man really can be helped—that is, by teaching him to help himself. You teach the benefits of organization, and you also teach the indispensable need of keeping absolutely unimpaired the faculty of individual initiative, the faculty by which each man brings himself to the highest point of perfection by exercising the special qualities with which he is himself endowed. The Brotherhood has developed to this enormous extent since the days, now many years ago, when the first little band came together; and it has developed, not by crushing out individual initiative, but by developing it, by combining many individual initiatives.

THE MAN WHO PULLS HIS OWN WEIGHT

The Brotherhood of Firemen does much for all firemen, but I firmly believe that the individual fireman, since the growth of the Brotherhood, has been more, not less, efficient than he was twenty years ago. Membership in the Brotherhood comes, as I understand it, after a nine months' probationary period; after a man has shown his worth, he is then admitted and stands on his footing as a brother. Now, any man who enters with the purpose of letting the Brotherhood carry him is not worth much. The man who counts in the Brotherhood is the man who pulls his own weight and a little more. Much can be done by the Brotherhood. I have just hinted, in the general figures I gave you, at how much has been done, but it still remains true, in the Brotherhood and everywhere else throughout American life, that in the last resort nothing can supply the place of the man's own individual qualities. We need those, no matter how perfect the organization is outside. There is just as much need of nerve, hardihood, power to face risks and accept responsibilities, in

the engineer and the fireman, whether on a flyer or a freight train, now as there ever was. Much can be done by the Association. A great deal can be accomplished by working each for all and all for each; but we must not forget that the first requisite in accomplishing that is that each man should work for others by working for himself, by developing his own capacity.

The steady way in which a man can rise is illustrated by a little thing that happened yesterday. I came down here over the Queen and Crescent Railroad, and the general manager, who handled my train and who handled yours, was Mr. Maguire. I used to know him in the old days when he was here on his way up, and he began right at the bottom. He was a fireman at one time. He worked his way straight up, and now he is general manager.

AN OBJECT LESSON IN CITIZENSHIP

I believe so emphatically in your organization because, while it teaches the need of working in union, of working in association, of working with, deep in our hearts, not merely on our lips, the sense of Brotherhood, yet of necessity it still keeps, as your organization always must keep, to the forefront the worth of the individual qualities of a man. I said to you that I came here in a sense not to speak to you, but to use your experience as an object-lesson for all of us, an object-lesson in good American citizenship. All professions, of course, do not call for the exercise to the same degree of the qualities of which I have spoken. Your profession is one of those which I am inclined to feel play in modern life a greater part from the standpoint of character than we entirely realize. There is in modern life, with the growth of civilization and luxury, a certain tendency to softening of the national fiber. There is a certain tendency to forget, in consequence of their disuse, the rugged virtues which lie at the back of manhood; and I feel that professions like yours, like the profession of the railroad men of the country, have a tonic effect upon the whole body politic.

It is a good thing that there should be a large body of our fellow-citizens—that there should be a profession—whose members must, year in and year out, display these old, old qualities of courage, daring, resolution, unflinching willingness to meet danger at need. I hope to see all our people develop the softer, gentler virtues to an ever-increasing degree, but I hope never to see them lose the sterner virtues that make men men.

A man is not going to be a fireman or an engineer, or serve well in any other capacity on a railroad long if he has a "streak of yellow" in him. You are going to find it out, and he is going to be painfully conscious of it, very soon. It is a fine thing for our people that we should have those qualities in evidence before us in the life-work of a big group of our citizens.

In American citizenship, we can succeed permanently only upon the basis of standing shoulder to shoulder, working in association, by organization, each working for all, and yet remembering that we need each so to shape things that each man can develop to best advantage all the forces and powers at his command. In your organization you accomplish much by means of the Brotherhood, but you accomplish it because of the men who go to make up the Brotherhood.

If you had exactly the organization, exactly the laws, exactly the system, and yet were yourselves a poor set of men, the system would not save you. I will guarantee that, from time to time, you have men to go in to try to serve for the nine months who prove that they do not have the stuff in them out of which you can make good men. You have the stuff in you, and, if you have the stuff, you can make out of it a much finer man by means of the association—but you must have the material out of which to make it. So it is in citizenship.

THE BLUE AND THE GRAY

And now let me say a word, speaking not merely especially to the Brotherhood, but to all our citizens. Governor McMillin, Mr. Mayor, I fail to see how any American can come to Chattanooga and go over the great battlefields in the neighborhood—the battlefields here in this State and just across the border in my mother's State of Georgia—how any American can come here and see evidences of the mighty deeds done by the men who wore the blue and the men who wore the gray, and not go away a better American, prouder of the country, prouder because of the valor displayed on both sides in the contest—the valor, the self-devotion, the loyalty to the right as each side saw the right. Yesterday I was presented with a cane cut from the Chickamauga battlefield by some young men of northern Georgia. On the cane were engraved the names of the Union generals and three Confederate generals. One of these Union generals was at that time showing me over the battlefield—General Boynton. Under one of the Confederate generals—General Wheeler—I myself served. In my regiment there served under me in the ranks a son of General Hood, who commanded at one time the Confederate army against General Sherman. The only captain whom I had the opportunity of promoting to field rank, and to whom this promotion was given for gallantry on the field, was Micah Jenkins, of South Carolina, the son of a Confederate general, whose name you will find recorded among those who fought at Chickamauga.

Two of my captains were killed at Santiago; one was Allyn Capron, the fifth in line who, from father to son, had served in the regular army of the United States, who had served in every war in which our country had been engaged; the other, Buck O'Neill. His father had fought under Meagher, when, on the day at Fredericksburg, his brigade left more men under the stone wall than did

any other brigade. I had in my regiment men from the North and South; men from the East and the West; men whose fathers had fought under Grant, and whose fathers had fought under Lee; college graduates, capitalists' sons, wage-workers, the man of means and the man who all his life owed each day's bread to the day's toil. I had Catholic, Protestant, Jew and Gentile under me. Among my captains were men whose forefathers had been among the first white men to settle on Massachusetts Bay and on the banks of the James, and others whose parents had come from Germany, from Ireland, from England, from France. They were all Americans and nothing else, and each man stood on his worth as a man, to be judged by it, and to succeed or fail accordingly as he did well or ill. Compared to the giant death-wrestles that reeled over the mountains round about this city, the fight at Santiago was the merest skirmish; but the spirit in which we handled ourselves there, I hope, was the spirit in which we have to face our duties as citizens if we are to make this Republic what it must be made.

A GOOD SENTIMENT

Yesterday, in passing over the Chickamauga battlefield, I was immensely struck by the monument raised by Kentucky to the Union and Confederate soldiers from Kentucky who fell on that battlefield. The inscription read as follows: "As we are united in life, and they united in death, let one monument perpetuate their deeds, and one people, forgetful of all asperities, forever hold in grateful remembrance all the glories of that terrible conflict which made all men free and retained every star on the nation's flag." That is a good sentiment. That is a sentiment by which we can all stand. And oh, my friends, what does that sentiment have as its underlying spirit? The spirit of brotherhood.

I firmly believe in my countrymen, and therefore I believe that the chief thing necessary in order that they shall work together is that they shall know one another—that the Northerner shall know the Southerner, and the man of one occupation know the man of another occupation; the man who works in one walk of life know the man who works in another walk of life, so that we may realize that the things which divide us are superficial, are unimportant, and that we are, and must ever be, knit together into one indissoluble mass by our common American brotherhood.

Speech at Music Hall, Cincinnati, Ohio

September 20, 1902

Mr. Mayor, and you, my Fellow-Americans: I shall ask your attention to what I shall say to-night, because I intend to make a perfectly serious argument to you, and I shall be obliged if you will remain as still as possible; and I ask

that those at the very back will remember that if they talk or make a noise it interferes with the hearing of the rest. I intend to speak to you on a serious subject and to make an argument as the chief executive of a nation, who is the president of all the people, without regard to party, without regard to section. I intend to make to you an argument from the standpoint simply of one American talking to his fellow-Americans upon one of the great subjects of interest to all alike; and that subject is what are commonly known as the trusts. That word is used very loosely and almost always with technical inaccuracy. The average man, however, when he speaks of the trusts means rather vaguely all of the very big corporations, the growth of which has been so signal a feature of our modern civilization, and especially those big corporations which, though organized in one State, do business in several States, and often have a tendency to monopoly.

FACTORS RESPONSIBLE FOR CHANGED CONDITIONS

The whole subject of the trusts is of vital concern to us, because it presents one, and perhaps the most conspicuous, of the many problems forced upon our attention by the tremendous industrial development which has taken place during the last century, a development which is occurring in all civilized countries, notably in our own. There have been many factors responsible for bringing about these changed conditions. Of these, steam and electricity are the chief. The extraordinary changes in the methods of transportation of merchandise and of transmission of news have rendered not only possible, but inevitable, the immense increase in the rate of growth of our great industrial centers—that is, of our great cities. I want you to bring home to yourselves that fact. When Cincinnati was founded, news could be transmitted and merchandise carried exactly as had been the case in the days of the Roman Empire. You had here on your river the flat-boat, you had on the ocean the sailing-ship, you had the pack-train, you had the wagon, and every one of the four was known when Babylon fell. The change in the last hundred years has been greater by far than the changes in all the preceding three thousand. Those are the facts. Because of them have resulted the specialization of industries, and the unexampled opportunities offered for the employment of huge amounts of capital, and therefore the rise in the business world of those master minds through whom alone it is possible for such vast amounts of capital to be employed with profit. It matters very little whether we like these new conditions or whether we dislike them; whether we like the creation of these new opportunities or not. Many admirable qualities which were developed in the older, simpler, less progressive life, have tended to atrophy under our rather feverish, high-pressure, complex life of to-day. But our likes

and dislikes have nothing to do with the matter. The new conditions are here. You can't bring back the old days of the canal-boat and stage-coach if you wish. The steamboat and the railroad are here. The new forces have produced both good and evil. We cannot get rid of them—even if it were not undesirable to get rid of them; and our instant duty is to try to accommodate our social, economic, and legislative life to them, and to frame a system of law and conduct under which we shall get out of them the utmost possible benefit and the least possible amount of harm. It is foolish to pride ourselves upon our progress and prosperity, upon our commanding position in the international industrial world, and at the same time have nothing but denunciation for the men to whose commanding position we in part owe this very progress and prosperity, this commanding position.

Whenever great social or industrial changes take place, no matter how much good there may be to them, there is sure to be some evil, and it usually takes mankind a number of years and a good deal of experimenting before they find the right ways in which, so far as possible, to control the new evil, without at the same time nullifying the new good. I am stating facts so obvious that if each one of you will think them over, you will think them trite, but if you read or listen to some of the arguments advanced, you will come to the conclusion that there is need of learning these trite truths. In these circumstances the effort to bring the new tendencies to a standstill is always futile and generally mischievous; but it is possible somewhat to develop them aright. Law can to a degree guide, protect, and control industrial development, but it can never cause it, or play more than a subordinate part in its healthy development—unfortunately it is easy enough by bad laws to bring it to an almost complete stop.

EVOLUTION—NOT REVOLUTION

In dealing with the big corporations which we call trusts, we must resolutely purpose to proceed by evolution and not revolution. We wish to face the facts, declining to have our vision blinded either by the folly of those who say there are no evils, or by the more dangerous folly of those who either see, or make believe that they see nothing but evil in all the existing system, and who if given their way would destroy the evil by the simple process of bringing ruin and disaster to the entire country. The evils attendant upon over-capitalization alone are, in my judgment, sufficient to warrant a far closer supervision and control than now exist over the great corporations. Wherever a substantial monopoly can be shown to exist, we should certainly try our utmost to devise an expedient by which it can be controlled. Doubtless some of the evils existing in or because of the great corporations cannot be cured by any legislation which has yet been proposed, and doubtless others, which have really been incident to the sudden development in the formation of corporations

of all kinds, will in the end cure themselves. But there will remain a certain number which can be cured if we decide that by the power of the government they are to be cured. The surest way to prevent the possibility of curing any of them is to approach the subject in a spirit of violent rancor, complicated with total ignorance of business interests, and fundamental incapacity or unwillingness to understand the limitations upon all law-making bodies. No problem, and least of all so difficult a problem as this, can be solved if the qualities brought to its solution are panic, fear, envy, hatred and ignorance. There can exist in a free republic no man more wicked, no man more dangerous to the people, than he who would arouse these feelings in the hope that they would redound to his own political advantage. Corporations that are handled honestly and fairly, so far from being an evil, are a natural business evolution and make for the general prosperity of our land. We do not wish to destroy corporations, but we do wish to make them subserve the public good. All individuals, rich or poor, private or corporate, must be subject to the law of the land; and the government will hold them to a rigid obedience thereof. The biggest corporation, like the humblest private citizen, must be held to strict compliance with the will of the people as expressed in the fundamental law. The rich man who does not see that this is in his interest is, indeed, short-sighted. When we make him obey the law we insure for him the absolute protection of the law.

ADMINISTERED FOR THE BENEFIT OF ALL

The savings banks show what can be done in the way of genuinely beneficent work by large corporations when intelligently administered and supervised. They now hold over twenty-six hundred millions of the people's money and pay annually about one hundred millions of interest or profit to their depositors. There is no talk of danger from these corporations; yet they possess great power, holding over three times the amount of our present national debt; more than all the currency, gold, silver, greenbacks, etc., in circulation in the United States. The chief reason for there being no talk of danger from them is that they are, on the whole, faithfully administered for the benefit of all, under wise laws which require frequent and full publication of their condition, and which prescribe certain needful regulations with which they have to comply, while at the same time giving full scope for the business enterprise of their managers within these limits.

Now, of course, savings banks are as highly specialized a class of corporations as railroads, and we cannot force too far the analogy with other corporations; but there are certain conditions which I think we can lay down as indispensable to the proper treatment of all corporations which from their size have become important factors in the social development of the community.

Before speaking, however, of what can be done by way of remedy, let me say a

word or two as to certain proposed remedies which, in my judgment, would be ineffective or mischievous. The first thing to remember is that if we are to accomplish any good at all it must be by resolutely keeping in the mind the intention to do away with any evils in the conduct of big corporations, while steadfastly refusing to assent to indiscriminate assault upon all forms of corporate capital as such. The line of demarcation we draw must always be on conduct, not upon wealth; our objection to any given corporation must be, not that it is big, but that it behaves badly. Perfectly simple again, my friends, but not always heeded by some of those who would strive to teach us how to act toward big corporations. Treat the head of the corporation as you would treat all other men. If he does well, stand by him. You will occasionally find the head of a big corporation who objects to that treatment; very good, apply it all the more carefully. Remember, after all, that he who objects because he is the head of a big corporation to being treated like any one else is only guilty of the same sin as the man who wished him treated worse than any one else because he is the head of a big corporation. Demagogic denunciation of wealth is never wholesome and generally dangerous; and not a few of the proposed methods of curbing the trusts are dangerous chiefly because all insincere advocacy of the impossible is dangerous. It is an unhealthy thing for a community when the appeal is made to follow a course which those who make the appeal either do know or ought to know cannot be followed; and which, if followed, would result in disaster to everybody. Loose talk about destroying monopoly out of hand, without a hint as to how the monopoly should even be defined, offers a case in point.

A DAMAGE TO THE COMMUNITY

Nor can we afford to tolerate any proposal which will strike at the so-called trusts only by striking at the general well-being. We are now enjoying a period of great prosperity. The prosperity is generally diffused through all sections and through all classes. Doubtless there are some individuals who do not get enough of it, and there are others who get too much. That is simply another way of saying that the wisdom of mankind is finite; and that even the best human system does not work perfectly. You don't have to take my word for that. Look back just nine years. In 1893 nobody was concerned in downing the trusts. Everybody was concerned in trying to get up himself. The men who propose to get rid of the evils of the trusts by measures which would do away with the general well-being, advocate a policy which would not only be a damage to the community as a whole, but which would defeat its own professed object. If we are forced to the alternative of choosing either a system under which most of us prosper somewhat, though a few of us prosper too much, or else a system under which no one

prospers enough, of course we will choose the former. If the policy advocated is so revolutionary and destructive as to involve the whole community in the crash of common disaster, it is certain as anything can be that when the disaster has occurred all efforts to regulate the trusts will cease, and that the one aim will be to restore prosperity.

NECESSARY FIRST TO DEFINE TRUSTS

A remedy much advocated at the moment is to take off the tariff from all articles which are made by trusts. To do this it will be necessary first to define trusts. The language commonly used by the advocates of the method implies that they mean all articles made by large corporations, and that the changes in tariff are to be made with punitive intent towards these large corporations. Of course, the tariff is to be changed in order to punish them; it should be changed, so as to punish those that do ill, not merely those that are prosperous. It would be neither just nor expedient to punish the big corporations as big corporations; what we wish to do is to protect the people from any evil that may grow out of their existence or mal-administration. Some of these corporations do well and others do ill. If in any case the tariff is found to foster a monoply which does ill, of course no protectionist would object to a modification of the tariff sufficient to remedy the evil. But in very few cases does the so-called trust really monopolize the market. Take any very big corporation—I could mention them by the score—which controls, say something in the neighborhood of half of the products of a given industry. It is the kind of a corporation that is always spoken of as a trust. Surely, in rearranging the schedules affecting such a corporation it would be necessary to consider the interests of its smaller competitors which control the remaining part, and which, being weaker, would suffer most from any tariff designed to punish all the producers; for, of course, the tariff must be made light or heavy for big and little producers alike. Moreover, such a corporation necessarily employs very many thousands, often very many tens of thousands of workmen, and the minute we proceeded from denunciation to action it would be necessary to consider the interests of these workmen. Furthermore, the products of many trusts are unprotected, and would be entirely unaffected by any change in the tariff, or at most very slightly so. The Standard Oil Company offers a case in point; and the corporations which control the anthracite coal output offer another—for there is no duty whatever on anthracite coal.

I am not now discussing the question of the tariff as such; whether from the standpoint of the fundamental difference between those who believe in a protective tariff and those who believe in free trade; or from the standpoint of those who, while they believe in a protective tariff, feel that there could be a rearrangement of our schedules, either by direct legislation or by reciprocity treaties, which would result in enlarging our markets; nor yet from the standpoint of those who feel that stability of

economic policy is at the moment our prime economic need, and that the benefits to be derived from any change in schedules would not compensate for the damage to business caused by the widespread agitation which would follow any attempted general revision of the tariff at this moment. Without regard to the wisdom of any one of those three positions, it remains true that the real evils connected with the trusts cannot be remedied by any change in the tariff laws. The trusts can be damaged by depriving them of the benefits of a protective tariff only on condition of damaging all their smaller competitors, and all the wage-workers employed in the industry.

APART FROM THE QUESTION OF TARIFF REVISION

This point is very important, and it is desirable to avoid any misunderstanding concerning it. I am not now considering whether or not, on grounds totally unconnected with the trusts, it would be well to lower the duties on various schedules, either by direct legislation or treaties designed to secure as an offset reciprocal advantages from the nations with which we trade. My point is that changes in the tariff would have little appreciable effect on the trusts save as they shared in the general harm or good proceeding from such changes. No tariff change would help one of our smaller corporations, or one of our private individuals in business, still less one of our wage-workers, as against a large corporation in the same business; on the contrary, if it bore heavily on the large corporation, it would inevitably be felt still more by that corporation's weaker rivals, while any injurious result would of necessity be shared by both the employer and the employed in the business concerned. The immediate introduction of substantial free trade in all articles manufactured by trusts, that is, by the largest and most successful corporations, would not affect some of the most powerful of our business combinations in the least, save by the damage done to the general business welfare of the country; others would undoubtedly be seriously affected, but much less so than their weaker rivals, while the loss would be divided between the capitalists and the laborers; and after the years of panic and distress had been lived through, and some return to prosperity had occurred, even though all were on a lower plane of prosperity than before, the relative difference between the trusts and their rivals would remain as marked as ever. In other words, the trust, or big corporation, would have suffered relatively to, and in the interest of, its foreign competitor; but its relative position towards its American competitors would probably be improved; little would have been done towards cutting out or minimizing the evils in the trusts; nothing towards securing adequate control and regulation of the large modern corporations. In other words, the question of regulating the trusts with a view to minimizing or abolishing evils existent in them, is separate and apart from the question of tariff revision.

You must face the fact that only harm will come from a proposition to

attack the so-called trusts in a vindictive spirit by measures conceived solely with a desire of hurting them, without regard as to whether or not discrimination should be made between the good and evil in them, and without even any regard as to whether a necessary sequence of the action would be the hurting of other interests. The adoption of such a policy would mean damage to all of our business interests, but the effect would be only temporary, for exactly as the damage affected all alike, good and bad, so the reaction would affect all alike, good and bad. The necessary supervision and control in which I firmly believe as the only method of eliminating the real evils of the trusts must come through wisely and cautiously framed legislation which shall aim, in the first place, to give definite control to some sovereign over the great corporations, and which shall be followed, when once this power has been conferred, by a system giving to the government the full knowledge which is the essential for satisfactory action. Then when this knowledge—one of the essential features of which is proper publicity—has been gained, what further steps of any kind are necessary can be taken with the confidence born of the possession of power to deal with the subject, and of a thorough knowledge of what should and can be done in the matter.

WE NEED KNOWLEDGE

We need additional power; and we need knowledge. Our constitution was framed when the economic conditions were so different that each State could wisely be left to handle the corporations within its limits as it saw fit. Nowadays all the corporations which I am considering do what is really an interstate business, and as the States have proceeded on very different lines in regulating them, at present a corporation will be organized in one State, not because it intends to do business in that State, but because it does not, and therefore that State can give it better privileges, and then it will do business in some other States, and will claim not to be under the control of the States in which it does business; and, of course, it is not the object of the State creating it to exercise any control over it, as it does not do any business in that State. Such a system cannot obtain. There must be some sovereign. It might be better if all the States could agree along the same lines in dealing with these corporations, but I see not the slightest prospect of such an agreement. Therefore I personally feel that ultimately the nation will have to assume the responsibility of regulating these very large corporations which do interstate business. The States must combine to meet the way in which capital has combined; and the way in which the States can combine is through the national government. But I firmly believe that all these obstacles can be met if only we face them, both with the determination to overcome them, and with the further determination to overcome them in ways which shall not do damage to the country as a whole; which, on the

contrary, shall further our industrial development, and shall help instead of hindering all corporations which work out their success by means that are just and fair towards all men.

Without the adoption of a constitutional amendment my belief is that a good deal can be done by law. It is difficult to say exactly how much, because experience has taught us that in dealing with these subjects where the lines dividing the rights and duties of the States and of the nation are in doubt it has sometimes been difficult for Congress to forecast the action of the courts upon its legislation. Such legislation (whether obtainable now, or obtainable only after a constitutional amendment) should provide for a reasonable supervision, the most prominent feature of which at first should be publicity; that is, the making public both to the governmental authorities and to the people at large the essential facts in which the public is concerned. This would give us exact knowledge of many points which are now not only in doubt but the subject of fierce controversy. Moreover, the mere fact of the publication would cure some very grave evils, for the light of day is a deterrent to wrong-doing. It would doubtless disclose others which could be grappled with and cured by further legislative action.

Remember, I advocated the action which the president can only advise, and which he has no power himself to take. Under our present legislative and constitutional limitations, the national executive can work only between narrow lines in the field of action concerning great corporations. Between those lines, I assure you that exact and even-handed justice will be dealt, and is being dealt, to all men, without regard to persons.

THE FRIEND OF THE HONEST MAN

I wish to repeat with all emphasis that, desirable though it is that the nation should have the power I suggest, it is equally desirable that it should be used with wisdom and self-restraint. The mechanism of modern business is tremendous in its size and complexity, and ignorant intermeddling with it would be disastrous. We should not be made timid or daunted by the size of the problem; we should not fear to undertake it; but we should undertake it with ever present in our minds dread of the sinister spirits of rancor, ignorance, and vanity. We need to keep steadily in mind the fact that besides the tangible property in each corporation there lies behind the spirit which brings it success, and in the case of each very successful corporation this is usually the spirit of some one man or set of men. Under exactly similar conditions one corporation will make a stupendous success where another makes a stupendous failure, simply because one is well managed and the other is not. While making it clear that we do not intend to allow wrong-doing by one of the captains of industry any more than by the humblest private in the industrial ranks, we must also

in the interest of all of us avoid cramping a strength which, if beneficially used, will be for the good of us all. The marvelous prosperity which we have been enjoying for the past few years has been due primarily to the high average of honesty, thrift, and business capacity among our people as a whole; but some of it has also been due to the ability of the men who are the industrial leaders of the nation. In securing just and fair dealing by these men, let us remember to do them justice in return, and this not only because it is our duty, but because it is our interest; not only for their sakes, but for ours. We are neither the friend of the rich man as such, nor the friend of the poor man as such; we are the friend of the honest man, rich or poor; and we intend that all men, rich and poor alike, shall obey the law alike and receive its protection alike.

Address at Logansport Indiana

September 23, 1902

Fellow-Citizens:

I am going to ask you to take what I say at its exact face value, as I like whatever I say to be taken. We believe that the American business man is of peculiar type; and probably the qualities of energy, daring, and resourcefulness which have given him his prominence in the international industrial world find their highest development here in the West. It is the merest truism to say that in the modern world industrialism is the great factor in the growth of nations. Material prosperity is the foundation upon which every mighty national structure must be built. Of course there must be more than this. There must be a high moral purpose, a life of the spirit which finds its expression in many different ways; but unless material prosperity exists also, there is scant room in which to develop the higher life. The productive activity of our vast army of workers, of those who work with head or hands, is the prime cause of the giant growth of this nation. We have great natural resources, but such resources are never more than opportunities, and they count for nothing if the men in possession have not the power to take advantage of them. You have built up in the West these cities of the Mississippi Valley and the Great Lakes, as all the region round about them has been built up—that is, because you had the qualities of heart and brain, the qualities of moral and physical fiber, which enabled you to use to the utmost advantage whatever you found ready to your hands. You win not by shirking difficulties, but by facing and overcoming them.

In such development laws play a certain part, but individual characteristics a still greater part. A great and successful commonwealth like ours in the long run works under good laws, because a people endowed with honest and practical common sense ultimately demand good laws. But no law can create industrial well-

being, although it may foster and safeguard it, and although a bad law may destroy it. The prime factor in securing industrial well-being is the high average of citizenship found in the community. The best laws that the wit of man can devise would not make a community of thriftless and idle men prosperous. No scheme of legislation or of social reform will ever work good to the community unless it recognizes as fundamental the fact that each man's own individual qualities must be the prime factors in his success. Work in combination may help and the State can do a good deal in its own sphere, but in the long run each man must rise or fall on his own merits; each man must owe his success in life to whatever of hardihood, of resolution, of common sense, and of capacity for lofty endeavor he has within his own soul. It is a good thing to act in combination for the common good, but it is a very unhealthy thing to let ourselves think for one moment that anything can ever supply the want of our own individual watchfulness and exertion.

CONFIDENE ESSENTIAL TO CREDIT

Yet, given this high average of individual ability and invention, we must ever keep in mind that it may be nullified by bad legislation, and that it can be given a chance to develop under the most favorable conditions by good legislation. Probably the most important aid which can be contributed by the national government to the material well-being of a country is to insure its financial stability. An honest currency is the strongest symbol and expression of honest business life. The business world must exist largely on credit, and to credit confidence is essential. Any tampering with the currency, no matter with what purpose, if fraught with the suspicion of dishonesty in result, is fatal in its effect on business prosperity. Very ignorant and primitive communities are continually obliged to learn the elementary truth that the repudiation of debts is in the end ruinous to the debtors as a class; and when communities have moved somewhat higher in the scale of civilization they also learn that anything in the nature of a debased currency works similar damage. A financial system of assured honesty is the first essential.

Another essential for any community is perseverance in the economic policy which for a course of years is found best fitted to its peculiar needs. The question of combining such fixedness of economic policy as regards the tariff, while at the same time allowing for a necessary and proper readjustment of duties in particular schedules as such readjustment becomes a matter of pressing importance, is not an easy one. It is, perhaps, too much to expect that from the discussion of such a question it would be possible wholly to eliminate political partisanship. Yet those who believe, as we all must when we think seriously of the subject, that the proper aim of the party system is, after all, simply to subserve the public good, cannot but hope that where such partisanship on a mat-

ter of this kind conflicts with the public good, it shall at least be minimized. It is all right and inevitable that we should divide on party lines, but woe to us, if we are not Americans first and party men second! What we really need in this country is to treat the tariff as a business proposition from the standpoint of the interests of the country as a whole, and not from the standpoint of the temporary needs of any political party. It surely ought not to be necessary to dwell upon the extreme unwisdom, from a business standpoint, from the standpoint of national prosperity, of violent and radical changes amounting to the direct upsetting of tariff policies at intervals of every few years. A nation like ours can adjust its business after a fashion to any kind of tariff. But neither our nation nor any other can stand the ruinous policy of readjusting its business to radical changes in the tariff at short intervals. This is more true now than ever it was before, for, owing to the immense extent and variety of our products, the tariff schedules of to-day carry rates of duty on more than four thousand articles. Continual sweeping changes in such a tariff, touching so intimately the commercial interests of the nation which stands as one of the two or three greatest in the whole industrial world, cannot but be disastrous. Yet, on the other hand, where the industrial needs of the nation shift as rapidly as they do with us, it is a matter of prime importance that we should be able to readjust our economic policy as rapidly as possible and with as little friction as possible to these needs.

PARALYZE THE INDUSTRIES

We need a scheme which will enable us to provide a reapplication of the principle to the changed conditions. The problem, therefore, is to devise some method by which these shifting needs can be recognized and the necessary readjustments of duties provided without forcing the entire business community, and therefore the entire nation, to submit to a violent surgical operation, the mere threat of which, and still more the accomplished fact of which, would probably paralyze for a considerable time all the industries of the country. Such radical action might very readily reproduce the conditions from which we suffered nine years ago, in 1893. It is on every account most earnestly to be hoped that this problem can be solved in some manner into which partisanship shall enter as a purely secondary consideration, if at all—that is, in some manner which shall provide for an earnest effort by non-partisan inquiry and action to secure any changes the need of which is indicated by the effect found to proceed from a given rate of duty on a given article: its effect, if any, as regards the creation of a substantial monopoly; its effect upon domestic prices, upon the revenue of the government, upon importations from abroad, upon home production, and upon consumption. In other words, we need to devise some machinery by which while persevering in the policy of a protective tariff, in which I think the

nation as a whole has now generally acquiesced, we would be able to correct the irregularities and remove the incongruities produced by changing conditions, without destroying the whole structure. Such machinery would permit us to continue our definitely settled tariff policy, while providing for the changes in duties upon particular schedules which must inevitably and necessarily take place from time to time as matters of legislative and administrative detail. This would secure the needed stability of economic policy, which is a prime factor in our industrial success, while doing away with any tendency to fossilization. It would recognize the fact that as our needs shift it may be found advisable to alter rates and schedules, adapting them to the changed conditions and necessities of the whole people; and this would be in no wise incompatible with preserving the principle of protection, for belief in the wisdom of a protective tariff is in no way inconsistent with frankly admitting the desirability of changing a set of schedules, when from any cause such change is in the interests of the nation as a whole—and our tariff policy is designed to favor the interests of the nation as a whole and not those of any particular set of individuals, save as an incident to this building up of national well-being. There are two or three different methods by which it will be possible to provide such readjustment without any shock to the business world. My personal preference would be for action which should be taken only after preliminary inquiry by, and upon the findings of, a body of experts of such high character and ability that they could be trusted to deal with the subject purely from the standpoint of our business and industrial needs; but, of course, Congress would have to determine for itself the exact method to be followed. The executive has at its command the means for gathering most of the necessary data, and can act whenever it is the desire of Congress that it should act. That the machinery for carrying out the policy above outlined can be provided I am very certain, if only our people will make up their minds that the health of the community will be subserved by treating the whole question primarily from the standpoint of the business interests of the entire country, rather than from the standpoint of the fancied interests of any group of politicians.

AMERICAN WORKMAN MUST BE PROTECTED

Of course, in making any changes we should have to proceed in accordance with certain fixed and definite principles, and the most important of these is an avowed determination to protect the interests of the American producer, be he business man, wage-worker, or farmer. The one consideration which must never be omitted in a tariff change is the imperative need of preserving the American standard of living for the American workingman. The tariff rate must never fall below that which will protect the American workingman by allowing for the difference between the

general labor cost here and abroad, so as at least to equalize the conditions arising from the difference in the standard of labor here and abroad—a difference which it should be our duty to foster in so far as it represents the needs of better educated, better paid, better fed, and better clothed workingmen of a higher type than any to be found in a foreign country. At all hazards, and no matter what else is sought for or accomplished by changes of the tariff, the American workingman must be protected in his standard of wages—that is, in his standard of living, and must be secured the fullest opportunity of employment. Our laws should in no event afford advantage to foreign industries over American industries. They should in no event do less than equalize the difference in conditions at home and abroad. The general tariff policy to which, without regard to changes in detail, I believe this country to be irrevocably committed, is fundamentally based upon ample recognition of the difference in labor cost here and abroad; in other words, the recognition of the need for full development of the intelligence, the comfort, the high standard of civilized living and the inventive genius of the American workingman as compared to the workingman of any other country in the world.

WE CAN AND WILL WIN

It is pretty simple to go just one way and turn another way, and then go another way, if somebody tells you how, but if you have got to think for yourself, then you appreciate the fact that the man on your right hand is thinking too, and that he will "stay put." We won in the Civil War because we had the manhood to which to appeal. We are going to win as a nation in the great industrial contest of the present day, because the average American has in him the stuff out of which victors are made—victors in the industrial and victors in the military world. And we can preserve the marvelous prosperity which we now enjoy, not by shirking facts, not by being afraid—that was not how you won from '61 to '65. There were people who said you could not win, but you did, and the people who won were those who looked up and not those who looked down. You recollect that before Bull Run there were some excellent people who denounced Abraham Lincoln because he did not go into Richmond at once; and after Bull Run they said the war was ended; but it was not ended; it took three years and nine months to end it, and then it ended the other way. Now, gentlemen, we can win and we will win as citizens of this republic by showing in the complex, hard, pushing life of this century, the same qualities that were shown by the men of the Civil War in that contest; and above all by keeping the high average of individual citizenship which made the armies that saw Appomattox the finest which the world has ever seen.

Speech at the Chamber of Commerce Banquet

New York, November 11, 1902

Mr. President, Gentlemen, and you, the Guests, whom we welcome here this evening: I do not wish to speak to you in the language of idle compliment, and yet it is but a bare statement of fact to say that nowhere in our country could there be gathered an audience which would stand as more typically characteristic than this of all those qualities and attributes which have given us of the United States our commanding position in the industrial world. There is no need of my preaching to this gathering the need of combining efficiency with upright dealing, for as an American and as a citizen of New York I am proud to feel that the name of your organization carries with it a guaranty of both; and your practice counts for more than any preaching could possibly count. New York is a city of national importance, because its position toward the nation is unique, and the Chamber of Commerce of New York must of necessity be an element of weight in the commercial and industrial welfare of the entire people. New York is the great port of entry for our country—the port in which centers the bulk of the foreign commerce of the country—and her welfare is therefore no matter of mere local or municipal, but of national, concern. The conduct of the government in dealing with all matters affecting the financial and commercial relations of New York must continually take into account this fact; and it must be taken into account in appreciating the importance of the part played by the New York Chamber of Commerce.

THE VOICE OF THE JUST MAN ARMED

This body stands for the triumphs of peace both abroad and at home. We have passed that stage of national development when depreciation of other peoples is felt as a tribute to our own. We watch the growth and prosperity of other nations, not with hatred or jealousy, but with sincere and friendly good-will. I think I can say safely that we have shown by our attitude toward Cuba, by our attitude toward China, that as regards weaker powers our desire is that they may be able to stand alone, and that if they will only show themselves willing to deal honestly and fairly with the rest of mankind we on our side will do all we can to help, not to hinder them. With the great powers of the world we desire no rivalry that is not honorable to both parties. We wish them well. We believe that the trend of the modern spirit is ever stronger toward peace, not war; toward friendship, not hostility, as the normal international attitude. We are glad, indeed, that we are on good terms with all the other peoples of mankind, and no effort on our part shall be spared to secure a continuance of these relations. And remember, gentlemen, that we shall be a potent factor for peace largely in proportion to the way in which we make it evident that our attitude is due, not to weakness, not to inability to defend ourselves, but to a

genuine repugnance to wrong-doing, a genuine desire for self-respecting friendship with our neighbors. The voice of the weakling or the craven counts for nothing when he clamors for peace; but the voice of the just man armed is potent. We need to keep in a condition of preparedness, especially as regards our navy, not because we want war, but because we desire to stand with those whose plea for peace is listened to with respectful attention.

NO PATENT REMEDY CAN BE DEVISED

Important though it is that we should have peace abroad, it is even more important that we should have peace at home. You, men of the Chamber of Commerce, to whose efforts we owe so much of our industrial well-being, can, I believe surely will, be influential in helping toward that industrial peace which can obtain in society only when in their various relations employer and employed alike show not merely insistence each upon his own rights, but also regard for the rights of others, and a full acknowledgment of the interests of the third party—the public. It is no easy matter to work out a system or rule of conduct, whether with or without the help of the lawgiver, which shall minimize that jarring and clashing of interests in the industrial world which causes so much individual irritation and suffering at the present day, and which at times threatens baleful consequences to large portions of the body politic. But the importance of the problem cannot be overestimated, and it deserves to receive the careful thought of all men such as those whom I am addressing to-night. There should be no yielding to wrong; but there should most certainly be not only desire to do right, but a willingness each to try to understand the viewpoint of his fellow, with whom, for weal or for woe, his own fortunes are indissolubly bound.

No patent remedy can be devised for the solution of these grave problems in the industrial world; but we may rest assured that they can be solved at all only if we bring to the solution certain old-time virtues, and if we strive to keep out of the solution some of the most familiar and most undesirable of the traits to which mankind has owed untold degradation and suffering throughout the ages. Arrogance, suspicion, brutal envy of the well-to-do, brutal indifference toward those who are not well-to-do, the hard refusal to consider the rights of others, the foolish refusal to consider the limits of beneficent action, the base appeal to the spirit of selfish greed, whether it take the form of plunder of the fortunate or of oppression of the unfortunate—from these and from all kindred vices this nation must be kept free if it is to remain in its present position in the forefront of the peoples of mankind. On the other hand, good will come, even out of the present evils, if we face them armed with the old homely virtues; if we show that we are fearless of soul, cool of head, and kindly of heart; if, without betraying the weakness that cringes before

wrong-doing, we yet show by deeds and words our knowledge that in such a government as ours each of us must be in very truth his brother's keeper.

At a time when the growing complexity of our social and industrial life has rendered inevitable the intrusion of the State into spheres of work wherein it formerly took no part, and when there is also a growing tendency to demand the illegitimate and unwise transfer to the government of much of the work that should be done by private persons, singly or associated together, it is a pleasure to address a body whose members possess to an eminent degree the traditional American self-reliance of spirit which makes them scorn to ask from the government, whether of States or of nation, anything but a fair field and no favor—who confide not in being helped by others, but in their own skill, energy, and business capacity to achieve success. The first requisite of a good citizen in this republic of ours is that he shall be able and willing to pull his weight—that he shall not be a mere passenger, but shall do his share in the work that each generation of us finds ready to hand; and, furthermore, that in doing his work he shall show not only the capacity for sturdy self-help, but also self-respecting regard for the rights of others.

DIFFERENT KINDS OF SUCCESS

The Chamber of Commerce, it is no idle boast to say, stands in a preëminent degree for those qualities which make the successful merchant, the successful business man, whose success is won in ways honorable to himself and beneficial to his fellows. There are very different kinds of success. There is the kind of success that brings with it the seared soul—the success which is achieved by wolfish greed and vulpine cunning—the success which makes honest men uneasy or indignant in its presence. Then there is the other kind of success—the success which comes as the reward of keen insight, of sagacity, of resolution, of address, combined with unflinching rectitude of behavior, public and private. The first kind of success may, in a sense—and a poor sense at that—benefit the individual, but it is always and necessarily a curse to the community; whereas the man who wins the second kind, as an incident of its winning, becomes a beneficiary to the whole commonwealth. Throughout its history the Chamber of Commerce has stood for this second and higher kind of success. It is therefore fitting that I should come on here as the chief executive of the nation to wish you well in your new home; for you belong not merely to the city, not merely to the State, but to all the country, and you stand high among the great factors in building up that marvelous prosperity which the entire country now enjoys. The continuance of this prosperity depends in no small measure upon your sanity and common sense, upon the way in which you combine energy in action with conservative refusal to take part in the reckless gambling which is so often bred by, and which so inevitably puts an end to, prosperity.

You are men of might in the world of American effort; you are men whose names stand high in the esteem of our people; you are spoken of in terms like those used in the long-gone ages when it was said of the Phœnician cities that their merchants were princes. Great is your power and great, therefore, your responsibility. Well and faithfully have you met this responsibility in the past. We look forward with confident hope to what you will do in the future, and it is therefore with sincerity that I bid you Godspeed this evening and wish for you, in the name of the nation, a career of ever-increasing honor and usefulness.

Speech at the Founders' Day Banquet

Union League, Philadelphia, November 22, 1902

Mr. President, Gentlemen of the Union League: Forty years ago this Club was founded, in the dark days of the Civil War, to uphold the hands of Abraham Lincoln and give aid to those who battled for the Union and for human liberty. Two years ago President McKinley came here as your guest to thank you, and through you all those far-sighted and loyal men who had supported him in his successful effort to keep untarnished the national good faith at home and the national honor abroad, and to bring back to this country the material well-being which we now so abundantly enjoy. It was no accident which made the men of this Club, who stood as in a peculiar sense the champions and upholders of the principles of Lincoln in the early sixties, stand no less stoutly for those typified in the person of McKinley during the closing years of the century. The qualities apt to make men respond to the call of duty in one crisis are also apt to make them respond to a similar call in a crisis of a different character. The traits which enabled our people to pass unscathed through the fiery ordeal of the Civil War were the traits upon which we had to rely in the less serious, but yet serious, dangers by which we were menaced in 1896, 1898 and 1900.

From the very beginning our people have markedly combined practical capacity for affairs with power of devotion to an ideal. The lack of either quality would have rendered the possession of the other of small value. Mere ability to achieve success in things concerning the body would not have atoned for the failure to live the life of high endeavor; and, on the other hand, without a foundation of those qualities which bring material prosperity there would be nothing on which the higher life could be built. The men of the Revolution would have failed if they had not possessed alike devotion to liberty and ability (once liberty had been achieved) to show common sense and self-restraint in its use. The men of the great Civil War would have failed had they not possessed the business capacity which developed and organized their resources, in addition to the stern resolution to

expend these resources as freely as they expended their blood in furtherance of the great cause for which their hearts leaped. It is this combination of qualities that has made our people succeed. Other peoples have been as devoted to liberty, and yet, because of lack of hard-headed common sense and of ability to show restraint and subordinate individual passions for the general good, have failed so signally in the struggle of life as to become a byword among the nations. Yet other peoples, again, have possessed all possible thrift and business capacity, but have been trampled under foot, or have played a sordid and ignoble part in the world, because their business capacity was unaccompanied by any of the lift toward nobler things which marks a great and generous nation. The stern but just rule of judgment for humanity is that each nation has failed, it matters but little whether it has failed through meanness of soul or through lack of robustness of character. We must judge a nation by the net result of its life and activity. And so we must judge the policies of those who at any time control the destinies of a nation.

PLEDGES HAVE BEEN KEPT

Therefore I ask you to-night to look at the results of the policies championed by President McKinley on both the occasions when he appealed to the people for their suffrages, and to see how well that appeal has been justified by the event. Most certainly I do not claim all the good that has befallen us during the past six years as due solely to any human policy. No legislation, however wise, no administration, however efficient, can secure prosperity to a people or greatness to a nation. All that can be done by the law-maker and the administrator is to give the best chance possible for the people of the country themselves to show the stuff that is in them. President McKinley was elected in 1896 on the specific pledge that he would keep the financial honor of the nation untarnished and would put our economic system on a stable basis, so that our people might be given a chance to secure the return to prosperity. Both pledges have been so well kept that, as is but too often the case, men are beginning to forget how much the keeping of them has meant. When people have become very prosperous they tend to become sluggishly indifferent to the continuation of the policies that brought about their prosperity. At such times as these it is, of course, a mere law of nature that some men prosper more than others, and too often those who prosper less, in their jealousy of their more fortunate brethren forget that all have prospered somewhat. I ask you soberly to remember that the complaint made at the present day of our industrial or economic conditions never takes the form of stating that any of our people are less well off than they were seven or eight years back, before President McKinley came in and his policies had a chance to be applied; but that the complaint is that some people have received more than their share of the good things of the world. There was no such complaint eight

years ago, in the summer of 1894. Complaint was not then that any one had prospered too much; it was that no one had prospered enough. Let each one of us think of the affairs of his own household and his own business; let each of us compare his standing now with his standing eight years back, and then let him answer for himself whether it is not true that the policies for which William McKinley stood in 1896 have justified themselves thrice over by the results they have brought about.

MEETING ISSUES AS THEY ARISE

In 1900 the issues in part were the same, but new ones had been added. Prosperity had returned; the gold standard was assured; our tariff was remodeled on the lines that have marked it at all periods when our well-being was greatest. But, as must often happen, the President elected on certain issues was obliged to face others entirely unforeseen. Rarely, indeed, have our greatest men made issues—they have shown their greatness by meeting them as they arose. President McKinley faced the problems of the Spanish war and those that followed it exactly as he had faced the problems of our economic needs. As a sequel to the war with Spain we found ourselves in possession of the Philippines under circumstances which rendered it necessary to subdue a formidable insurrection which made it impossible for us with honor or with regard to the welfare of the islands to withdraw therefrom. The occasion was seized by the opponents of the President for trying to raise a new issue, on which they hoped they might be more successful than on the old. The clamor raised against him was joined in not only by many honest men who were led astray by a mistaken view or imperfect knowledge of the facts, but by all who feared effort, who shrank from the rough work of endeavor. The campaign of 1900 had to be fought largely upon the new issues thus raised. President McKinley met it squarely. Two years and eight months ago, before his second nomination, he spoke as follows:

"We believe that the century of free government which the American people have enjoyed has not rendered them irresolute and faithless, but has fitted them for the great task of lifting up and assisting to better conditions and larger liberty those distant peoples who through the issue of battle have become our wards. Let us fear not. There is no occasion for faint hearts, no excuse for regrets. Nations do not grow in strength, the cause of liberty and law is not advanced by the doing of easy things. The harder the task the greater will be the result, the benefit and the honor. To doubt our power to accomplish it is to lose faith in the soundness and strength of our popular institutions. . . . We have the new care and cannot shift it. And, breaking up the camp of ease and isolation, let us bravely and hopefully and soberly continue the march of faithful service, and falter not until the work is

done. . . . The burden is our opportunity. The opportunity is greater than the burden."

PREDICTIONS COMPLETELY FALSIFIED

There spoke the man who preached the gospel of hope as well as the gospel of duty, and on the issue thus fairly drawn between those who said we would do our new work well and triumphantly and those who said we would fail lamentably in the effort, the contest was joined. We won. And now I ask you, two years after the victory, to look across the seas and judge for yourselves whether or not the promise has been kept. The prophets of disaster have seen their predictions so completely falsified by the event that it is actually difficult to arouse even a passing interest in their failure. To answer them now, to review their attack on our army, is of merely academic interest. They played their brief part of obstruction and clamor; they said their say; and the current of our life went over them and they sank under it as did their predecessors who, thirty-six years before, had declared that another and greater struggle for true liberty was only a contest for subjugation in which the United States could never succeed. The insurrection among the Filipinos has been absolutely quelled. The war has been brought to an end sooner than even the most sanguine of us dared to hope. The world has not in recent years seen any military task done with more soldierly energy and ability; and done, moreover, in a spirit of great humility. The strain on the army was terrible, for the conditions of climate and soil made their work harassing to an extraordinary degree, and the foes in the field were treacherous and cruel, not merely toward our men, but toward the great multitude of peaceful islanders who welcomed our rule. Under the strain of well-nigh intolerable provocation there were shameful instances, as must happen in all wars, where the soldiers forgot themselves, and retaliated evil for evil. There were one hundred thousand hired for a small sum a month apiece, put there under conditions that strained their nerves to the breaking point, and some of the hundred thousand did what they ought not to have done. But out of a hundred thousand men at home, have all been faultless? Every effort has been made to detect such cases, to punish the offenders, and to prevent any recurrence of the deed. It is a cruel injustice to the gallant men who fought so well in the Philippines not to recognize that these instances were exceptional, and that the American troops who served in the far-off tropic islands deserve praise the same in kind that has always been given to those who have well and valiantly fought for the honor of our common flag and common country. The work of civil administration has kept pace with the work of military administration, and when on July 4th last amnesty and peace were declared throughout the islands the civil government assumed the complete control. Peace and order now prevail and a greater measure of prosperity and of happiness than the Filipinos have ever hitherto known in all their dark and checkered history; and each

one of them has a greater measure of liberty, a greater chance of happiness, and greater safety for his life and property than he or his forefathers have ever before known.

FIND OUT THE WAY

Thus we have met each task that has confronted us during the past six years. Thus we have kept every promise made in 1896 and 1900. We have a right to be proud of the memories of the last six years. But we must remember that each victory only opens the chance for a new struggle; that the remembrance of triumphs achieved in the past is of use chiefly if it spurs us to fresh effort in the present. No nation has ever prospered as we are prospering now, and we must see to it that by our own folly we do not mar this prosperity. Yet we must see to it also that wherever wrong flourishes it be repressed. It is not the habit of our people to shirk issues, but squarely to face them. It is not the habit of our people to treat a good record in the past as anything but a reason for expecting an even better record in the present; and no administration, gentlemen, should ask to be judged save on those lines. The tremendous growth of our industrialism has brought to the front many problems with which we must deal; and I trust that we shall deal with them along the lines indicated in speech and in action by that profound jurist and upright and fearless public servant who represents Pennsylvania in the cabinet—Attorney-General Knox. The question of the so-called trusts is but one of the questions we must meet in connection with our industrial system. There are many of them and they are serious; but they can and will be met. Time may be needed for making the solution perfect; but it is idle to tell this people that we have not the power to solve such a problem as that of exercising adequate supervision over the great industrial combinations of to-day. We have the power and we shall find out the way. We shall not act hastily or recklessly; but we have firmly made up our minds that a solution, and a right solution, shall be found, and found it will be.

No nation as great as ours can expect to escape the penalty of greatness, for greatness does not come without trouble and labor. There are problems ahead of us at home and problems abroad, because such problems are incident to the working out of a great national career. We do not shrink from them. Scant is our patience with those who preach the gospel of craven weakness. No nation under the sun ever yet played a part worth playing if it feared its fate overmuch—if it did not have the conrage to be great. We of America, we, the sons of a nation yet in the pride of its lusty youth, spurn the teachings of distrust, spurn the creed of failure and despair. We know that the future is ours if we have in us the manhood to grasp it, and we enter the new century girding our loins for the contest before us, rejoicing in the struggle, and resolute so to bear ourselves that the nation's future shall even surpass her glorious past.

Speech at Dedication of the New High-School Building

Philadelphia, Pa., November 22, 1902

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I am glad to have the chance of being present at the formal dedication of this new building, which in its management stands in line of succession to a series of buildings, themselves typifying in no small degree the extraordinary development of the public school system of the United States. It was some sixty-four years ago that this institution was first established under a man of great eminence alike in the work of pedagogy and in other fields—Professor Biggs. At the time when it was started the public school system of the United States had begun and was in the process of its first development. Now, in the city of Philadelphia in attendance upon the public schools, including the night schools, there are some hundred and seventy thousand pupils and over four thousand teachers. The development of the high school, especially during the last half century, has been literally phenomenal. Nothing like our present system of education was known in earlier times. No such system of popular education for the people by the representatives of the people existed. It is, of course, a mere truism to say that the stability and future welfare of our institutions of government depend upon the grade of citizenship turned out from our public schools. And no body of public servants, no body of individuals associated in private life, are better worth the admiration and respect of all who value citizenship at its true worth, than the body composed of the teachers in the public schools throughout the length and breadth of this Union. They have to deal with citizenship in the raw and turn it out something like a finished product. I think that all of us who also endeavor to deal with that citizenship in the raw in our own homes appreciate the burden and the responsibility. The training given in the public schools must, of course, be not merely a training in intellect, but a training in what counts for infinitely more than intellect—a training in character. And the chief factor in that training must be the personal equation of the teachers; the influence exerted, sometimes consciously and sometimes unconsciously, by the man or woman who stands in so peculiar a relation to the boys and girls under his or her care—a relation closer, more intricate, and more vital in its after-effects than any other relation save that of parent and child. Wherever a burden of that kind is laid, those who carry it necessarily carry a great responsibility. There can be no greater. Scant should be our patience with any man or woman doing a bit of work vitally worth doing, who does not approach it in the spirit of sincere love for the work, and of desire to do it well for the work's sake.

Doubtless most of you remember the old distinction drawn between the two kinds of work, the work done for the sake of the fee and the work done for the sake

of the work itself. The man or woman in public or private life who ever works only for the sake of the reward that comes outside of the work, will in the long run do poor work. The man or woman who does work worth doing is the man or woman who lives, who breathes that work; with whom it is ever present in his or her soul; whose ambition is to do well and to feel rewarded by the thought of having done it well. That man, that woman, puts the whole country under an obligation. As a body all those connected with the education of our people are entitled to the heartiest praise from all lovers of their country, because as a body they are devoting heart and soul to the welfare of those under them.

WE NEED HEALTHY BODIES

It is a poor type of school nowadays that has not a good playground attached. It is not so long since, in my own city at least, this was held as revolutionary doctrine, especially in the crowded quarters where playgrounds were most needed. People said they didn't need playgrounds. It was a new-fangled idea. They expected to make good citizens of the boys and girls who, when they were not in school, were put upon the streets in the crowded quarters of New York to play at the kind of games alone that they could play at in the streets. We have passed that stage. I think we realize what a good healthy playground means to children. I think we understand not only the effects for good upon their bodies, but for good upon their minds. We need healthy bodies. We need to have schools physically developed.

LESS BY PRECEPT THAN PRACTICE

Sometimes you can develop character by the direct inculcation of moral precept; a good deal more often you cannot. You develop it less by your precept than by your practice. Let it come as an incident of the association with you; as an incident to the general tone of the whole body, the tone which in the aggregate we all create. Is not that the experience of all of you, in dealing with these children in the schools, in dealing with them in the family, in dealing with them in bodies anywhere? They are quick to take the tone of those to whom they look up, and if they do not look up to you, then you can preach virtue all you wish, but the effect will be small.

I have not come here to try to make any extended speech to you, but I should hold myself a poor citizen if I did not welcome the chance to wish you Godspeed in your work for yourselves and to wish you Godspeed in your work as representatives of that great body of public school teachers, upon the success of whose efforts to train aright the children of to-day depends the safety of our institutions of to-morrow.

In Honor of the Birthday of President McKinley

Canton, Ohio, January 27, 1903

Mr. Toastmaster, Ladies and Gentlemen: Throughout our history, and indeed throughout history generally, it has been given to only a very few thrice-favored men to take so marked a lead in the crises faced by their several generations that thereafter each stands as the embodiment of the triumphant effort of his generation. President McKinley was one of these men.

If during the lifetime of a generation no crisis occurs sufficient to call out in marked manner the energies of the strongest leader, then, of course, the world does not and cannot know of the existence of such a leader; and in consequence there are long periods in the history of every nation during which no man appears who leaves an indelible mark in history. If, on the other hand, the crisis is one so many-sided as to call for the development and exercise of many distinct attributes, it may be that more than one man will appear in order that the requirements shall be fully met. In the Revolution and in the period of constructive statesmanship immediately following it, for our good fortune it befell us that the highest military and the highest civic attributes were embodied in Washington, and so in him we have one of the undying men of history—a great soldier, if possible an even greater statesman, and above all a public servant whose lofty and disinterested patriotism rendered his power and ability—alike on fought fields and in council chambers—of the most far-reaching service to the republic. In the Civil War the two functions were divided, and Lincoln and Grant will stand forevermore with their names inscribed on the honor roll of those who have deserved well of mankind by saving to humanity a precious heritage. In similar fashion Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Jackson stand each as the foremost representative of the great movement of his generation, and their names symbolize to us their times and the hopes and aspirations of their times.

THE FOREMOST PLACE IN POLITICAL LIFE

It was given to President McKinley to take the foremost place in our political life at a time when our country was brought face to face with problems more momentous than any whose solution we have ever attempted, save only in the Revolution and in the Civil War; and it was under his leadership that the nation solved these mighty problems aright. Therefore he shall stand in the eyes of history not merely as the first man of his generation, but as among the greatest figures in our national life, coming second only to the men of the two great crises in which the Union was founded and preserved.

No man could carry through successfully such a task as President McKinley undertook, unless trained by long years of effort for its performance. Knowledge of

his fellow-citizens, ability to understand them, keen sympathy with even their innermost feelings, and yet power to lead them, together with far-sighted sagacity and resolute belief both in the people and in their future—all these were needed in the man who headed the march of our people during the eventful years from 1896 to 1901. These were the qualities possessed by McKinley and developed by him throughout his whole history previous to assuming the presidency. As a lad he had the inestimable privilege of serving, first in the ranks, and then as a commissioned officer, in the great war for national union, righteousness, and grandeur; he was one of those whom a kindly Providence permitted to take part in a struggle which ennobled every man who fought therein. He who when little more than a boy had seen the grim steadfastness which after four years of giant struggle restored the Union and freed the slave was not thereafter to be daunted by danger or frightened out of his belief in the great destiny of our people.

McKINLEY'S RISE TO GREATNESS

Some years after the war was closed McKinley came to Congress, and rose, during a succession of terms, to leadership in his party in the lower House. He also became governor of his native State—Ohio. During this varied service he received practical training of the kind most valuable to him when he became chief executive of the nation. To the high faith of his early years was added the capacity to realize his ideals, to work with his fellow-man at the same time that he led them.

President McKinley's rise to greatness had in it nothing of the sudden, nothing of the unexpected or seemingly accidental. Throughout his long term of service in Congress there was a steady increase alike in his power of leadership and in the recognition of that power both by his associates in public life and by the public itself. Session after session his influence in the House grew greater; his party antagonists grew to look upon him with constantly increasing respect, his party friends with constantly increasing faith and admiration. Eight years before he was nominated for president he was already considered a presidential possibility. Four years before he was nominated only his high sense of honor prevented his being made a formidable competitor of the chief upon whom the choice of the convention then actually fell. In 1896 he was chosen because the great mass of his party knew him and believed in him and regarded him as symbolizing their ideals, as representing their aspirations. In estimating the forces which brought about his nomination and election I do not undervalue that devoted personal friendship which he had the faculty to inspire in so marked a degree among the ablest and most influential leaders; this leadership was of immense consequence in bringing about the result but, after all, the prime factor was the trust in and devotion to him felt by the great mass of men who had come to accept him as their recognized spokesman. In his nomination the

national convention of a great party carried into effect in good faith the deliberate judgment of that party as to who its candidate should be.

But even as a candidate President McKinley was far more than the candidate of a party, and as President he was in the broadest and fullest sense the President of all the people of all sections of the country.

His first nomination came to him because of the qualities he had shown in healthy and open political leadership, the leadership which by word and deed impresses itself as a virile force for good upon the people at large and which has nothing in common with mere intrigue or manipulation. But in 1896 the issue was fairly joined, chiefly upon a question which as a party question was entirely new, so that the old lines of political cleavage were in large part abandoned. All other issues sank in importance when compared with the vital need of keeping our financial system on the high and honorable plane imperatively demanded by our position as a great civilized power. As the champion of such a principle President McKinley received the support not only of his own party, but of hundreds of thousands of those to whom he had been politically opposed. He triumphed, and he made good with scrupulous fidelity the promises upon which the campaign was won. We were at the time in a period of great industrial depression, and it was promised for and on behalf of McKinley that if he were elected our financial system should not only be preserved unharmed but improved and our economic system shaped in accordance with those theories which have always marked our periods of greatest prosperity.

A BETRAYAL OF OUR DUTY

The promises were kept, and following their keeping came the prosperity which we now enjoy. All that was foretold concerning the well-being which would follow the election of McKinley has been justified by the event. But, as so often happens in our history, the President was forced to face questions other than those at issue at the time of his election. Within a year the situation in Cuba had become literally intolerable. President McKinley had fought too well in his youth, he knew too well at first hand what war really was, lightly to enter into a struggle. He sought by every honorable means to preserve peace, to avert war. He made every effort consistent with the national honor to bring about an amicable settlement of the Cuban difficulties. Then, when it became evident that these efforts were useless, that peace could not be honorably entertained, he devoted his strength to making the war as short and as decisive as possible. It is needless to tell the result in detail. Suffice it to say that rarely indeed in history has a contest so far-reaching in the importance of its outcome been achieved with such ease. There followed a harder task. As a result of the war we came into possession of Cuba, Porto Rico, and the

Philippines. In each island the conditions were such that we had to face problems entirely new to our national experience, and, moreover, in each island or group of islands the problems differed radically from those presented in the others. In Porto Rico the task was simple. The island could not be independent. It became in all essentials a part of the Union. It has been given all the benefits of our economic and financial system. Its inhabitants have been given the highest individual liberty, while yet their government has been kept under the supervision of officials so well chosen that the island can be appealed to as affording a model for all such experiments in the future; and this result was mainly owing to the admirable choice of instruments by President McKinley when he selected the governing officials.

In Cuba, where we were pledged to give the island independence, the pledge was kept not merely in letter but in spirit. It would have been a betrayal of our duty to have given Cuba independence out of hand. President McKinley, with his usual singular sagacity in the choice of agents, selected in General Leonard Wood the man of all others best fit to bring the island through its uncertain period of preparation for independence, and the result of his wisdom was shown when last May the island became in name and fact a free republic, for it started with a better equipment and under more favorable conditions than had ever previously been the case with any Spanish-American commonwealth.

A COMPLEX PROBLEM

Finally, in the Philippines, the problem was one of great complexity. There was an insurrectionary party claiming to represent the people of the islands and putting forth their claim with a certain speciousness which deceived no small number of men here at home, and which afforded to yet others a chance to arouse a factious party spirit against the President. Of course, looking back, it is now easy to see that it would have been both absurd and wicked to abandon the Philippine Archipelago and let the scores of different tribes—Christian, Mohammedan, and pagan, in every stage of semi-civilization and Asiatic barbarism—turn the islands into a welter of bloody savagery, with the absolute certainty that some strong power would have to step in and take possession. But though now it is easy enough to see that our duty was to stay in the islands, to put down the insurrection by force of arms, and then to establish freedom-giving civil government, it needed genuine statesmanship to see this and to act accordingly at the time of the first revolt. A weaker and less far-sighted man than President McKinley would have shrunk from a task very difficult in itself, and certain to furnish occasion for attack and misrepresentation no less than for honest misunderstanding. But President McKinley never flinched. He refused to consider the thought of abandoning our duty in our new possessions. While sedulously endeavoring to act with the utmost humanity toward the insurrectionists,

he never faltered in the determination to put them down by force of arms, alike for the sake of our own interest and honor, and for the sake of the interest of the islanders and particularly of the great numbers of friendly natives, including those most highly civilized, for whom abandonment by us would have meant ruin and death. Again his policy was most amply vindicated. Peace has come to the islands, together with a greater measure of individual liberty and self-government than they have ever before known All the tasks set us as a result of the war with Spain have so far been well and honorably accomplished, and as a result this nation stands higher than ever before among the nations of mankind.

President McKinley's second campaign was fought mainly on the issue of approving what he had done in his first administration, and specifically what he had done as regards these problems springing out of the war with Spain. The result was that the popular verdict in his favor was more overwhelming than it had been before.

IN THE GOLDEN FULLNESS OF TRIUMPH

No other president in our history has seen high and honorable effort crowned with more conspicuous personal success. No other president entered upon his second term feeling such right to a profound and peaceful satisfaction. Then by a stroke of horror, so strange in its fantastic iniquity as to stand unique in the black annals of crime, he was struck down. The brave, strong, gentle heart was stilled forever, and word was brought to the woman who wept that she was to walk thenceforth alone in the shadow. The hideous infamy of the deed shocked the nation to its depths, for the man thus struck at was in a peculiar sense the champion of the plain people, in a particular sense the representative and the exponent of those ideals which, if we live up to them, will make, as they largely made, our country a blessed refuge for all who strive to do right and to live their lives simply and well as light is given them. The nation was stunned, and the people mourned with a sense of bitter bereavement because they had lost a man whose heart beat for them as the heart of Lincoln had once beaten. We did right to mourn; for the loss was ours, not his. He died in the golden fullness of triumph. He died victorious in that highest of all kinds of strife—the strife for an ampler, juster, and more generous national life. For him the laurel; but woe for those whom he left behind; woe to the nation that lost him; and woe to mankind that there should exist creatures so foul that one among them should strike at so noble a life!

We are gathered together to-night to recall his memory, to pay our tribute of respect to the great chief and leader who fell in the harness, who was stricken down while his eyes were bright with "the light that tells of triumph tasted." We can honor him best by the way we show in actual deed that we have taken to heart the

lessons of his life. We must strive to achieve, each in the measure that he can, something of the qualities which made President McKinley a leader of men, a mighty power for good—his strength, his courage, his courtesy and diguity, his sense of justice, his ever-present kindliness and regard for the rights of others. He won greatness by meeting and solviug the issues as they arose—not by shirking them—meeting them with wisdom, with the exercise of the most skillful and cautious judgment, but with fearless resolution when the time of crisis came. He met each crisis on its own merits; he never sought excuse for shirking a task in the fact that it was different from the one he had expected to face. The long public career, which opened when as a boy he carried a musket in the ranks and closed when as a man in the prime of his intellectual strength he stood among the world's chief statesmen, came to what it was because he treated each triumph as openiug the road to fresh effort, not as an excuse for ceasing from effort. He undertook mighty tasks. Some of them he finished completely, others we must finish; and there remain yet others which he did not have to face, but which if we are worthy to be the inheritors of his principles we will in our turn face with the same resolution, the same sanity, the same unfaltering belief in the greatness of this country, and unfaltering championship of the rights of each and all of our people, which marked his high and splendid career.

Celebration of the Birth of John Wesley

Carnegie Hall, New York, N. Y., February 26, 1903

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I am glad to have the chance of addressing this representative body of the great church which Wesley founded, on the occasion of the commemoration of the two hundredth anniversary of his birth. America, moreover, has a peculiar proprietary claim on Wesley's memory, for it is on our continent that the Methodist Church has received its greatest development. In the days of our Colonial life Methodism was not, on the whole, a great factor in the religious and social life of the people. The Congregationalists were supreme throughout most of New England; the Episcopalians on the seaboard from New York southward, while the Presbyterian congregations were most numerous along what was then the entire western frontier; and the Quaker, Catholic, and Dutch Reformed churches each had developments in special places. The great growth of the Methodist Church, like the great growth of the Baptist Church, began at about the time of the Revolutionary War. To-day my theme is purely Methodism.

Since the days of the Revolution not only has the Methodist Church increased greatly in the old communities of the original thirteen States, but it has played a peculiar and prominent part in the pioneer growth of our country and has, in conse-

quence, assumed a position of immense importance throughout the vast region west of the Alleghenies which has been added to our nation since the days when the Continental Congress first met.

For a century after the Declaration of Independence the greatest work of our people, with the exception only of the work of self-preservation under Lincoln, was the work of the pioneers as they took possession of this continent. During that century we pushed westward from the Alleghenies to the Pacific, southward to the Gulf and the Rio Grande, and also took possession of Alaska. The work of advancing our boundary, of pushing the frontier across forest and desert and mountain chain, was the great typical work of our nation; and the men who did it—the frontiersmen, the pioneers, the backwoodsmen, plainsmen, mountain men, which none but men of iron soul and iron body could do. The men who carried it to a successful conclusion had characters strong alike for good and for evil. Their rugged natures made them powers who served light or darkness with fierce intensity; and together with heroic traits they had those evil and dreadful tendencies which are but too apt to be found in characters of heroic possibilities. Such men make the most efficient servants of the Lord if their abounding vitality and energy are directed aright; and if misdirected their influence is equally potent against the cause of Christianity and true civilization. In the hard and cruel life of the border, with its grim struggle against the forbidding forces of wild nature and wilder men, there was much to pull the frontiersman down. If left to himself, without moral teaching and moral guidance, without any of the influences that tend toward the uplifting of man and the subduing of the brute within him, sad would have been his, and therefore our, fate. From this fate we have been largely rescued by the fact that together with the rest of the pioneers went the pioneer preachers; and all honor be given to the Methodists for the great proportion of these pioneer preachers whom they furnished.

THE SPIRIT OF MARTYRS

These preachers were of the stamp of old Peter Cartwright—men who suffered and overcame every hardship in common with their flock, and who in addition tamed the wild and fierce spirits of their fellow pioneers. It was not a task that could have been accomplished by men desirous to live in the soft places of the earth and to walk easily on life's journey. They had to possess the spirit of the martyrs; but not of martyrs who could merely suffer, not of martyrs who could oppose only passive endurance to wrong. The pioneer preachers warred against the forces of spiritual evil with the same fiery zeal and energy that they and their fellows showed in the conquest of the rugged continent. They had in them the heroic spirit, the spirit that scorns ease if it must be purchased by failure to do duty, the spirit that courts risk and a life of hard

endeavor if the goal to be reached is really worth attaining. Great is our debt to these men and scant the patience we need show toward their critics. At times they seemed hard and narrow to those whose training and surroundings had saved them from similar temptations; and they have been criticised, as all men, whether missionaries, soldiers, explorers, or frontier settlers, are criticised when they go forth to do the rough work that must inevitably be done by those who act as the first harbingers, the first heralds, of civilization in the world's dark places. It is easy for those who stay at home in comfort, who never have to see humanity in the raw, or to strive against the dreadful naked forces which appear clothed, hidden, and subdued in civilized life—it is easy for such to criticise the men who, in rough fashion, and amid grim surroundings, make ready the way for the higher life that is to come afterwards; but let us all remember that the untempted and the effortless should be cautious in passing too heavy judgment upon their brethren who may show hardness, who may be guilty of shortcomings, but who nevertheless do the great deeds by which mankind advances. These pioneers of Methodism had the strong, militant virtues which go to the accomplishment of such great deeds. Now and then they betrayed the shortcomings natural to men of their type; but their shortcomings seem small indeed when we place beside them the magnitude of the work they achieved.

THE PIONEER DAYS ARE OVER

And now, friends, in celebrating the wonderful growth of Methodism, in rejoicing at the good it has done to the country and to mankind, I need hardly ask a body like this to remember that the greatness of the fathers becomes to the children a shameful thing if they use it only as an excuse for inaction instead of as a spur to effort for noble aims. I speak to you not only as Methodists—I speak to you as American citizens. The pioneer days are over. We now all of us form parts of a great civilized nation, with a complex industrial and social life and infinite possibilities both for good and for evil. The instruments with which, and the surroundings in which we work, have changed immeasurably from what they were in the days when the rough backwoods preachers ministered to the moral and spiritual needs of their rough backwoods congregations. But if we are to succeed, the spirit in which we are to do our work must be the same as the spirit in which they did theirs. These men drove forward and fought their way upward to success, because their sense of duty was in their hearts, in the very marrow of their bones. It was not with them something to be considered as a mere adjunct to their theology, standing separate and apart from their daily life. They had it with them week days as well as Sundays. They did not divorce the spiritual from the secular. They did not have one kind of conscience for one side of their lives and another for another.

IN THE INTEREST OF THE HIGHER LIFE

If we are to succeed as a nation we must have the same spirit in us. We must be absolutely practical, of course, and must face facts as they are. The pioneer preachers of Methodism could not have held their own for a fortnight if they had not shown an intense practicality of spirit, if they had not possessed the broadest and deepest sympathy for, and understanding of, their fellow men. But in addition to the hard, practical common sense needed by each of us in life we must have a lift toward lofty things, or we shall be lost, individually, and collectively as a nation. Life is not easy, and least of all is it easy for either the man or the nation that aspires to do great deeds. In the century opening, the play of the infinitely far-reaching forces and tendencies which go to make up our social system bids fair to be even fiercer in its activity than in the century which has just closed. If during this century the men of high and fine moral sense show themselves weaklings; if they possess only that cloistered virtue which shrinks shuddering from the raw facts of actual life; if they dare not go down into the hurly-burly where the men of might contend for the mastery; if they stand aside from the pressure and conflict; then as surely as the sun rises and sets all of our great material progress, all the multiplication of the physical agencies which tend for our comfort and enjoyment, will go for naught and our civilization will become a brutal sham and mockery. If we are to do as I believe we shall and will do, if we are to advance in broad humanity, in kindliness, in the spirit of brotherhood, exactly as we advance in our conquest over the hidden forces of nature, it must be by developing strength in virtue and virtue in strength, by breeding and training men who shall be both good and strong, both gentle and valiant—men who scorn wrong-doing and who at the same time have both the courage and the strength to strive mightily for the right. Wesley accomplished so much for mankind because he refused to leave the stronger, manlier qualities to be availed of only in the interest of evil. The church he founded has throughout its career been a church for the poor as well as for the rich and has known no distinction of persons. It has been a church whose members, if true to the teachings of its founder, have sought for no greater privilege than to spend and be spent in the interest of the higher life, who have prided themselves, not on shirking rough duty, but on undertaking it and carrying it to a successful conclusion.

I come here to-night to greet you and to pay my tribute to your past because you have deserved well of mankind, because you have striven with strength and courage to bring nearer the day when peace and justice shall obtain among the peoples of the earth.

Eulogy of President McKinley

On the 6th of September President McKinley was shot by an anarchist while attending the Pan-American Exposition at Buffalo, and died in that city on the 14th of that month.

Of the last seven elected presidents he is the third who has been murdered, and the bare recital of this fact is sufficient to justify grave alarm among all loyal American citizens. Moreover, the circumstances of this, the third assassination of an American president, have a peculiarly sinister significance. Both President Lincoln and President Garfield were killed by assassins of types unfortunately not uncommon in history; President Lincoln falling a victim to the terrible passions aroused by four years of civil war, and President Garfield to the revengeful vanity of a disappointed office-seeker. President McKinley was killed by an utterly depraved criminal, belonging to that body of criminals who object to all governments, good and bad alike, who are against any form of popular liberty if it is guaranteed by even the most just and liberal laws, and who are as hostile to the upright exponent of a free people's sober will as to the tyrannical and irresponsible despot.

THE WAGE-WORKER'S CHAMPION

It is not too much to say that at the time of President McKinley's death he was the most widely loved man in all the United States, while we have never had any public man of his position who has been so wholly free from the bitter animosities incident to public life. His political opponents were the first to bear the heartiest and most generous tribute to the broad kindliness of nature, the sweetness and gentleness of character which so endeared him to his close associates. To a standard of lofty integrity in public life he united the tender affections and home virtues which are all-important in the make-up of national character. A gallant soldier in the great war for the Union, he also shone as an example to all our people because of his conduct in the most sacred and intimate of home relations. There could be no personal hatred of him, for he never acted with aught but consideration for the welfare of others. No one could fail to respect him who knew him in public or private life. The defenders of those murderous criminals who seek to excuse their criminality by asserting that it is exercised for political ends inveigh against wealth and irresponsible power. But for this assassination even this base apology cannot be urged.

President McKinley was a man of moderate means, a man whose stock sprang from the sturdy tillers of the soil, who had himself belonged among the wage-workers, who had entered the army as a private soldier. Wealth was not struck at when the President was assassinated, but the honest toil which is content with moderate gains after a lifetime of unremitting labor, largely in the service of the public. Still less was power struck at in the sense that power is irresponsible or centered in the

hands of any one individual. The blow was not aimed at tyranny or wealth. It was aimed at one of the strongest champions the wage-worker has ever had; at one of the most faithful representatives of the system of public rights and representative government who have ever risen to public office. President McKinley filled that political office for which the entire people vote, and no president—not even Lincoln himself—was ever more earnestly anxious to represent the well-thought-out wishes of the people; his one anxiety in every crisis was to keep in closest touch with the people—to find out what they thought and to endeavor to give expression to their thought, after having endeavored to guide that thought aright. He had just been reëlected to the presidency because the majority of our citizens, the majority of our farmers and wage-workers, believed that he had faithfully upheld their interests for four years. They felt themselves in close and intimate touch with him. They felt that he represented so well and so honorably all their ideals and aspirations that they wished him to continue for another four years to represent them.

And this was the man at whom the assassin struck! That there might be nothing lacking to complete the Judas-like infamy of his act, he took advantage of an occasion when the President was meeting the people generally; and, advancing as if to take the hand outstretched to him in kindly and brotherly fellowship, he turned the noble and generous confidence of the victim into an opportunity to strike the fatal blow. There is no baser deed in all the annals of crime.

RESOLUTE ACTION DEMANDED

The shock, the grief of the country, are bitter in the minds of all who saw the dark days while the President yet hovered between life and death. At last the light was stilled in the kindly eyes and the breath went from the lips that even in mortal agony uttered no words save of forgiveness to his murderer, of love for his friends and of unfaltering trust in the will of the Most High. Such a death, crowning the glory of such a life, leaves us with infinite sorrow, but with such pride in what he had accomplished and in his own personal character that we feel the blow not as struck at him but as struck at the nation. We mourn a good and great President who is dead; but while we mourn we are lifted up by the splendid achievements of his life and the grand heroism with which he met his death.

When we turn from the man to the nation the harm done is so great as to excite our gravest apprehensions and to demand our wisest and most resolute action. This criminal was a professed anarchist, inflamed by the teachings of professed anarchists and probably also by the reckless utterances of those who, on the stump and in public press, appeal to the dark and evil spirits of malice and greed, envy and sullen hatred. The wind is sowed by the men who teach

such doctrines, and they cannot escape their share of the responsibility for the whirlwind that is reaped. This applies alike to the deliberate demagogue, to the exploiter of sensationalism and to the crude and foolish visionary who, for whatever reason, apologizes for crime or excites aimless discontent.

The blow was aimed not at this president, but at all presidents; at every symbol of government. President McKinley was as emphatically the embodiment of the popular will of the nation expressed through the forms of law as a New England town meeting is in similar fashion the embodiment of the law-abiding purpose and practice of the people of the town. On no conceivable theory could the murder of the President be accepted as due to protest against "inequalities in the social order," save as the murder of all the freemen engaged in a town meeting could be accepted as a protest against that social inequality which puts a malefactor in jail. Anarchy is no more an expression of "social discontent" than picking pockets or wife-beating.

The anarchist, and especially the anarchist in the United States, is merely one type of criminal, more dangerous than any other because he represents the same depravity in a greater degree. The man who advocates anarchy directly or indirectly, in any shape or fashion, or the man who apologizes for anarchists and their deeds, makes himself morally accessory to murder before the fact. The anarchist is a criminal whose perverted instincts lead him to prefer confusion and chaos to the most beneficent form of social order. His protest of concern for workingmen is outrageous in its impudent falsity; for if the political institutions of this country do not afford opportunity to every honest and intelligent son of toil, then the door of hope is forever closed against him. The anarchist is everywhere not merely the enemy of system and of progress, but the deadly foe of liberty. If ever anarchy is triumphant, its triumph will last for but one red moment, to be succeeded for ages by the gloomy night of despotism.

For the anarchist himself, whether he preaches or practices his doctrines, we need not have one particle more concern than for any ordinary murderer. He is not the victim of social or political injustice. There are no wrongs to remedy in his case. The cause of his criminality is to be found in his own evil passions and in the evil conduct of those who urge him on, not in any failure by others or by the state to do justice to him or his. He is a malefactor and nothing else. He is in no sense, in no shape or way, a "product of social conditions," save as a highwayman is "produced" by the fact that an unarmed man happens to have a purse. It is a travesty upon the great and holy names of liberty and freedom to permit them to be invoked in such a cause. No man or body of men preaching anarchistic doctrines should be allowed at large any more than if preaching the murder of some specified private individual. Anarchistic speeches, writings and meetings are essentially seditious.

I earnestly recommend to the Congress that in the exercise of its wise discretion it should take into consideration the coming to this country of anarchists or persons professing principles hostile to all government and justifying the murder of those placed in authority. Such individuals as those who not long ago gathered in open meeting to glorify the murder of King Humbert of Italy perpetrate a crime, and the law should insure their rigorous punishment. They and those like them should be kept out of this country; and if found here they should be promptly deported to the country whence they came; and far-reaching provision should be made for the punishment of those who stay. No matter calls more urgently for the wisest thought of the Congress.

The federal courts should be given jurisdiction over any man who kills or attempts to kill the president or any man who by the constitution or by law is in line of succession for the presidency, while the punishment for an unsuccessful attempt should be proportioned to the enormity of the offense against our institutions.

Anarchy is a crime against the whole human race, and all mankind should band against the anarchist. His crime should be made an offense against the law of nations, like piracy and that form of man stealing known as the slave trade, for it is of far blacker infamy than either. It should be so declared by treaties among all civilized powers. Such treaties would give to the federal government the power of dealing with the crime.

A grim commentary upon the folly of the anarchist position was afforded by the attitude of the law toward this very criminal who had just taken the life of the President. The people would have torn him limb from limb if it had not been that the law he defied was at once invoked in his behalf. So far from his deed being committed on behalf of the people against the government, the government was obliged at once to exert its full police power to save him from instant death at the hands of the people. Moreover, his deed worked not the slightest dislocation in our governmental system, and the danger of a recurrence of such deeds, no matter how great it might grow, would work only in the direction of strengthening and giving harshness to the forces of order. No man will ever be restrained from becoming president by any fear as to his personal safety. If the risk to the president's life became great it would mean that the office would more and more come to be filled by men of a spirit which would make them resolute and merciless in dealing with every friend of disorder. This great country will not fall into anarchy, and if anarchists should ever become a serious menace to its institutions they would not merely be stamped out but would involve in their own ruin every active or passive sympathizer with their doctrines. The American people are slow to wrath, but when their wrath is once kindled it burns like a consuming flame.

EXTRACTS FROM THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

To the Fifty-Eighth Congress, First Session.

To the Senate and House of Representatives: The country is to be congratulated on the amount of substantial achievement which has marked the past year, both as regards our foreign and as regards our domestic policy.

With a nation, as with a man, the most important things are those of the household, and therefore the country is especially to be congratulated on what has been accomplished in the direction of providing for the exercise of supervision over the great corporations and combinations of corporations engaged in interstate commerce. The Congress has created the department of commerce and labor, including the bureau of corporations, with for the first time authority to secure proper publicity of such proceedings of these great corporations as the public has a right to know. It has provided for the expediting of suits for the enforcement of the federal anti-trust law, and by another law it has secured equal treatment to all producers in the transportation of their goods, thus taking a long stride forward in making effective the work of the interstate commerce commission.

The establishment of the department of commerce and labor, with the bureau of corporations thereunder, marks a real advance in the direction of doing all that is possible for the solution of the questions vitally affecting capitalists and wage-workers. The act creating the department was approved on February 14, 1903, and two days later the head of the department was nominated and confirmed by the Senate. Since then the work of organization has been pushed as rapidly as the initial appropriations permitted and with due regard to thoroughness and the broad purposes which the department is designed to serve. After the transfer of the various bureaus and branches to the department at the beginning of the current fiscal year, as provided for in the act, the personnel comprised 1,289 employes in Washington and 8,836 in the country at large. The scope of the department's duty and authority embraces the commercial and industrial interests of the nation. It is not designed to restrict or control the fullest liberty of legitimate business action, but to secure exact and authentic information which will aid the executive in enforcing existing laws and which will enable the Congress to enact additional legislation, if any should be found necessary, in order to prevent the few from obtaining privileges at the expense of diminished opportunities for the many.

The preliminary work of the bureau of corporations in the department has shown the wisdom of its creation. Publicity in corporate affairs will tend to do

away with ignorance and will afford facts upon which intelligent action may be taken. Systematic, intelligent investigation is already developing facts the knowledge of which is essential to a right understanding of the needs and duties of the business world. The corporation which is honestly and fairly organized, whose managers in the conduct of its business recognize their obligation to deal squarely with their stockholders, their competitors and the public, has nothing to fear from such supervision. The purpose of this bureau is not to embarrass or assail legitimate business but to aid in bringing about a better industrial condition—a condition under which there shall be obedience to law and recognition of public obligation by all corporations, great or small. The department of commerce and labor will be not only the clearing house for information regarding the business transactions of the nation but the executive arm of the government to aid in strengthening our domestic and foreign markets, in perfecting our transportation facilities, in building up our merchant marine, in preventing the entrance of undesirable immigrants, in improving commercial and industrial conditions and in bringing together on common ground those necessary partners in industrial progress—capital and labor. Commerce between the nations is steadily growing in volume and the tendency of the times is toward closer trade relations. Constant watchfulness is needed to secure to Americans the chance to participate to the best advantage in foreign trade, and we may confidently expect that the new department will justify the expectation of its creators by the exercise of this watchfulness as well as by the businesslike administration of such laws relating to our internal affairs as are intrusted to its care.

In enacting the laws above enumerated the Congress proceeded on sane and conservative lines. Nothing revolutionary was attempted, but a common-sense and successful effort was made in the direction of seeing that corporations are so handled as to subserve the public good. The legislation was moderate. It was characterized throughout by the idea that we were not attacking corporations but endeavoring to provide for doing away with any evil in them; that we drew the line against misconduct, not against wealth, gladly recognizing the great good done by the capitalist who, alone or in conjunction with his fellows, does his work along proper and legitimate lines. The purpose of the legislation, which purpose will undoubtedly be fulfilled, was to favor such a man when he does well and to supervise his action only to prevent him from doing ill. Publicity can do no harm to the honest corporation. The only corporation that has cause to dread it is the corporation which shrinks from the light, and about the welfare of such corporations we need not be oversensitive The work of the department of commerce and labor has been conditioned upon this theory—of securing fair treatment alike for labor and for capital.

The consistent policy of the national government, so far as it has the power, is

to hold in check the unscrupulous man, whether employer or employe, but to refuse to weaken individual initiative or to hamper or cramp the industrial development of the country. We recognize that this is an era of federation and combination, in which great capitalistic corporations and labor unions have become factors of tremendous importance in all industrial centers. Hearty recognition is given the far-reaching, beneficent work which has been accomplished through both corporations and unions, and the line as between different corporations, as between different unions, is drawn as it is between different individuals—that is, it is drawn on conduct, the effort being to treat both organized capital and organized labor alike, asking nothing save that the interest of each shall be brought into harmony with the interest of the general public and that the conduct of each shall conform to the fundamental rules of obedience to law, of individual freedom and of justice and fair dealing toward all. Whenever either corporation, labor union or individual disregards the law or acts in a spirit of arbitrary and tyrannous interference with the rights of others, whether corporations or individuals, then where the federal government has jurisdiction it will see to it that the misconduct is stopped, paying not the slightest heed to the position or power of the corporation, the union or the individual, but only to one vital fact—that is, the question whether or not the conduct of the individual or aggregate of individuals is in accordance with the law of the land. Every man must be guaranteed his liberty and his right to do as he likes with his property or his labor, so long as he does not infringe the rights of others. No man is above the law and no man is below it; nor do we ask any man's permission when we require him to obey it. Obedience to the law is demanded as a right, not asked as a favor.

We have cause as a nation to be thankful for the steps that have been so successfully taken to put these principles into effect. The progress has been by evolution, not by revolution. Nothing radical has been done; the action has been both moderate and resolute. Therefore the work will stand. There shall be no backward step. If in the working of the laws it proves desirable that they shall at any point be expanded or amplified the amendment can be made as its desirability is shown. Meanwhile they are being administered with judgment, but with insistence upon obedience to them, and their need has been emphasized in signal fashion by the events of the past year.

From all sources, exclusive of the postal service, the receipts of the government for the last fiscal year aggregated $560,396,674. The expenditures for the same period were $506,099,007, the surplus for the fiscal year being $54,297,667. The indications are that the surplus for the present fiscal year will be very small, if, indeed, there be any surplus. From July to November the receipts from customs were approximately $9,000,000 less than the receipts from the same source for a cor-

responding portion of last year. Should this decrease continue at the same ratio throughout the fiscal year the surplus would be reduced by approximately $30,000,000. Should the revenue from customs suffer much further decrease during the fiscal year the surplus would vanish. A large surplus is certainly undesirable. Two years ago the war taxes were taken off with the express intention of equaliziug the governmental receipts and expenditures, and though the first year thereafter still showed a surplus it now seems likely that a substantial equality of revenue and expenditure will be attained. Such being the case, it is of great moment both to exercise care and economy in appropriations and to scan sharply any change in our fiscal revenue system which may reduce our income. The need of strict economy in our expenditures is emphasized by the fact that we cannot afford to be parsimonious in providing for what is essential to our national well-being. Careful economy wherever possible will alone prevent our income from falling below the point required in order to meet our genuine needs.

The iutegrity of our currency is beyond question and under present conditions it would be unwise and unnecessary to attempt a reconstruction of our entire monetary system. The same liberty should be granted the secretary of the treasury to deposit customs receipts as is granted him in the deposit of receipts from other sources. In my message of December 2, 1902, I called attention to certain needs of the financial situation and I again ask the consideration of the Congress for these questions.

During the last session of the Congress, at the suggestion of a joint note from the republic of Mexico and the imperial government of China and in harmony with an act of Congress appropriating $25,000 to pay the expenses thereof, a commission was appointed to confer with the principal European countries in the hope that some plan might be devised whereby a fixed rate of exchange could be assured between the gold-standard countries and the silver-standard countries. This commission has filed its preliminary report, which has been made public. I deem it important that the commission be continued and that a sum of money be appropriated sufficient to pay the expenses of its further labors.

In my last annual message, in connection with the subject of the due regulation of combinations of capital which are or may become injurious to the public, I recommended a special appropriation for the better enforcement of the anti-trust law as it now stands, to be expended under the direction of the attorney-general. Accordingly (by the legislative, executive and judicial appropriation act of February 25, 1903, 32 stat., 854,904) the Congress appropriated, for the purpose of enforcing the various federal trust aud interstate commerce laws, the sum of $500.000, to be expended under the direction of the attorney-general in the employment of special counsel and agents in the department of justice to conduct proceedings and prosecu-

tions under said laws in the courts of the United States. I now recommend as a matter of the utmost importance and urgency the extension of the purposes of this appropriation so that it may be available, under the direction of the attorney-general, and until used, for the due enforcement of the laws of the United States in general and especially of the civil and criminal laws relating to public lands and the laws relating to postal crimes and offenses and the subject of naturalization. Recent investigations have shown a deplorable state of affairs in these three matters of vital concern. By various frauds and by forgeries and perjuries thousands of acres of the public domain, embracing lands of different character and extending through various sections of the country, have been dishonestly acquired. It is hardly necessary to urge the importance of recovering these dishonest acquisitions, stolen from the people, and of promptly and duly punishing the offenders. I speak in another part of this message of the widespread crimes by which the sacred right of citizenship is falsely asserted and that "inestimable heritage" perverted to base ends.

By similar means—that is, through frauds, forgeries and perjuries, and by shameless briberies—the laws relating to the proper conduct of the public service in general and to the due administration of the postoffice department have been notoriously violated and many indictments have been found and the consequent prosecutions are in course of hearing or on the eve thereof. For the reasons thus indicated and so that the government may be prepared to enforce promptly and with the greatest effect the due penalties for such violations of law and to this end may be furnished with sufficient instrumentalities and competent legal assistance for the investigations and trials which will be necessary at many different points of the country, I urge upon the Congress the necessity of making the said appropriation available for immediate use for all such purposes, to be expended under the direction of the attorney-general.

Steps have been taken by the state department looking to the making of bribery an extraditionable offense with foreign powers. The need of more effective treaties covering this crime is manifest. The exposures and prosecutions of official corruption in St. Louis, Mo., and other cities and States have resulted in a number of givers and takers of bribes becoming fugitives in foreign lands. Bribery has not been included in extradition treaties heretofore, as the necessity for it has not arisen. While there may have been as much official corruption in former years, there has been more developed and brought to light in the immediate past than in the preceding century of our country's history. It should be the policy of the United States to leave no place on earth where a corrupt man fleeing from this country can rest in peace. There is no reason why bribery should not be included in all treaties as extraditable. The recent amended

treaty with Mexico whereby this crime was put in the list of extraditable offenses has established a salutary precedent in this regard. Under this treaty the state department has asked and Mexico has granted the extradition of one of the St. Louis bribe-givers.

There can be no crime more serious than bribery. Other offenses violate one law, while corruption strikes at the foundation of all law. Under our form of government all authority is vested in the people and by them delegated to those who represent them in official capacity. There can be no offense heavier than that of him in whom such a sacred trust has been reposed, who sells it for his own gain and enrichment; and no less heavy is the offense of the bribe-giver. He is worse than the thief, for the thief robs the individual, while the corrupt official plunders an entire city or State. He is as wicked as the murderer, for the murderer may only take one life against the law, while the corrupt official and the man who corrupts the official alike aim at the assassination of the commonwealth itself. Government of the people, by the people, for the people, will perish from the face of the earth if bribery is tolerated. The givers and takers of bribes stand on evil pre-eminence of infamy. The exposure and punishment of public corruption is an honor to a nation, not a disgrace. The shame lies in toleration, not in correction. No city or State, still less the nation, can be injured by the enforcement of law. As long as public plunderers when detected can find a haven of refuge in any foreign land and avoid punishment, just so long encouragement is given them to continue their practices. If we fail to do all that in us lies to stamp out corruption we cannot escape our share of responsibility for the guilt. The first requisite of successful self government is unflinching enforcement of the law and the cutting out of corruption.

* [illegible] making a total of 4[illegible]

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